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20 July 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1566

EAST

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### TEXT OF CSSR-MONGOLIAN STATEMENT ON HUSAK-TSEDENBAL TALKS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jun 78 p 1, 2 AU

[Text of "Joint Czechoslovak-Mongolian Statement" signed in Prague on 15 June 1978]

[Text] At the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR president and the CSSR Government, a party and government delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] led by Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and chairman of the Presidium of the MPR People's Great Hural, paid an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia on 13-16 June 1978.

During its stay in the CSSR the MPR party and government delegation visited, apart from the capital city of Prague, Czechoslovakia's large industrial and cultural center of Brno and industrial and agricultural enterprises and acquainted itself with the life and successes of the Czechoslovak people.

In Prague the MPR party and government delegation placed wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Zizkov Hill and at the memorial to Soviet soldiers at Olsany.

Many cordial meetings with the working people of Czechoslovakia and the friendship rally in the B. Smeral Engineering Works reaffirmed the firm, fraternal bonds of unshakable friendship and the constantly expanding cooperation between the two parties and countries and between the Czechoslovak and Mongolian peoples.

During the MPR party and government delegation's stay in the CSSR, negotiations were conducted between Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, first secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the MPR People's Great Hural.

The negotiations were attended:

For the Czechoslovak side: by Lubomir Strougal, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier; Josef Kempny, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Josef Simon, CPCZ Central Committee member, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the Czechoslovak side of the CSSR-Mongolian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation; Antonin Vavrus, CPCZ Central Committee member and head of the CPCZ Central Committee Department for International policy; Andrej Barcak, CSSR minister of foreign trade; Mecislav Jablonsky, CSSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the MPR.

For the Mongolian side: by Jambyn Batmonh, Politburo member of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers; Damdingiyn Gombojab, Politburo candidate member and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee; Choynoryn Suren, MPRP Central Committee member, deputy chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Mongolian side of the Intergovernmental Mongolian-Czechoslovak Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation; Mangalyn Dugersuren, MPRP Central Committee member and MPR foreign minister; (Cerevin Davagsuren), MPRP Central Committee member and head of the MPRP Central Committee Department for International Relations; Dangaasurengiyn Saldan, MPRP Central Committee member and minister-chairman of the MPB State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; (Dzamsarangin Jondon), MPRP Central Committee member and MPR first deputy foreign minister; and Dzandangiyn Enebish, MPR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the CSSR.

The negotiations were held in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship, cordiality and full mutual understanding and confirmed the two sides' unity of views on all questions discussed.

The delegations informed one another about the implementation of the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ and the 17th MPRP congresses and about the successes of the two countries' working people in developing the building of socialism under the guidance of their Marxist-Leninist parties.

The MPR party and government delegation expressed great appreciation of the successes which are being achieved by the fraternal Czechoslovak people under the guidance of the CPCZ in building an advanced socialist society.

The Czechoslovak side also expressed great appreciation of the successes achieved by the Mongolian people in the socialist construction of their country under the MPRP's guidance.



# I.

During the negotiations the CSSR and MPR party and government delegations assessed the current state of mutual relations in the political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural spheres, discussed in detail questions connected with the further all-round development and expansion of mutual fraternal cooperation between the CPCZ and the MPRP, the CSSR and the MPR, and exchanged views on some topical questions of the current international situation and of the world communist and workers movement.

The highest representatives of the CPCZ and MPRP and of the CSSR and the MPR unanimously stated that an ideological and political unity and all-round fraternal cooperation between the two parties and states, proceeding from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, is a firm foundation for a successful and all-round development of relations between the two countries.

The Czechoslovak-Mongolian treaty of friendship and cooperation, signed in Ulaanbaatar on the occasion of the visit by a Czechoslovak party and government delegation led by Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, in June 1973 has been fulfilling a historical role in the development of the traditional, firm friendship between the CPCZ and the MPRP, the CSSR and the MPR, between the Czechoslovak and Mongolian peoples, and in expanding all-round fraternal cooperation. This serves the continued development of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between the CSSR and the MPR, the benefit of the Czechoslovak and Mongolian peoples and the interest of strengthening the unity and strength of the world socialist community.

Proceeding from the firm friendship and cohesion between the CPCZ and the MPRP, the governments and the people of the CSSR and the MPR, the two delegations confirmed their resolve to continue to promote the all-round development of relations between the parties' Central Committees, the Federal Assembly and the People's Great Hural, between the governments, cities, social organizations, other bodies and institutions, and collectives in enterprises, and between the two countries' citizens.

The delegations made an all-round assessment of the development of mutual economic and scientific-technical cooperation and stated with satisfaction that since the visit by the CSSR party and government delegation to the MPR in 1973 there has been a further development in economic relations. On the basis of the consultations on the coordination of the two countries' national economic plans for 1976-80, new agreements on economic cooperation, goods exchange and payments for this period had been signed.

The Mongolian side greatly appreciated the importance of the technical-economic assistance extended by the CSSR in the construction and

introduction of production in industrial enterprises and other projects in the MPR, in training skilled Mongolian national cadres in mastering contemporary production techniques and technology.

It was emphasized that the complex of enterprises of the tanning and footwear industry--enterprises manufacturing shoes, skins and glaze kid and processing large-sized skins and the enterprise for sewing leather products in Ulaanbaatar--and the cement works in Darchan, built with the CSSR's assistance, have been satisfying the country's needs for numerous important types of products and enabling the growth of the MPR's export potential, including deliveries of a considerable quantity of production of these enterprises from the MPR to the CSSR.

Joint geological surveys help to discover deposits of various types of minerals on MPR territory and contribute to the further development of long-term cooperation in opening these deposits.

The CSSR-Mongolian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation participates to a significant degree in the development of all-round economic cooperation.

Guided by joint efforts for the further development of lasting and mutually advantageous economic relations, the two sides adopted the "Fundamental Principles for Expanding and Deepening Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the CSSR and the MPR" and determined measures for their implementation.

These principles focus on a substantial expansion of cooperation in the traditional spheres, particularly on the development of the tanning and footwear industries in the MPR and on raising the efficiency and quality of production.

The CSSR will continue to provide the MPR with aid and support in the development of its national economy.

The MPR party and government delegation expressed cordial thanks to the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR people for their international assistance and support for the Mongolian people in building socialism in the MPR.

The two sides also assessed questions concerning the development of relations in the sphere of education, culture, health and sport and noted with satisfaction that in recent years considerable progress has been achieved in these spheres.

The CSSR and the MPR attach particular importance to the further strengthening of their economic relations with the USSR and to multilateral

cooperation within the CEMA framework, and they express their determination to cooperate still more effectively in the implementation of the comprehensive program of socialist economic integration.

## II.

The CSSR and the MPR emphasized the extraordinarily great importance of the strengthening of friendship and of the development of all-round cooperation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism with their common, true friend and ally--the Soviet Union--and with the other socialist countries. The two sides reaffirmed their firm determination to contribute with all their power to the strengthening of the unity, cohesion, strength and authority of the socialist community in the interest of lasting peace and progress. They emphasized the fact, verified by life, that only fraternal unity and the close cooperation of the socialist countries with the Soviet Union multiplies the strength of socialism and opens broad possibilities for the solution of the most complex tasks. The recent joint space flight of Soviet and Czechoslovak cosmonauts and the preparation of further international crews for space flights are a telling illustration of this. These facts, representing a further example of selfless cooperation, brotherhood and socialist internationalism, fill the Czechoslovak and Mongolian peoples with real pride and sincere joy.

The CSSR delegation expressed great appreciation of the MPR's efforts and steps aimed at strengthening peace and cooperation among the countries of Asia and the nations of the whole world.

The Mongolian delegation emphasized the great importance of the CSSR's active foreign policy, which considerably contributes to the strengthening of the power of world socialism, to the further deepening of the process of relaxation of tension, to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

The CSSR's and MPR's highest representatives expressed their firm determination to continue to contribute to the further deepening of the coordinated policy of the countries of the socialist community in international relations.

The delegations stated that the more convincing are the successes of the world socialist community and the international communist and workers movement, the more ferocious become the attacks by world imperialism and reaction against the forces of progress. In their struggle against socialism the reactionary forces of imperialism proceed from the positions of overt and covert anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. They are escalating psychological warfare and are employing ever more cunning methods and forms of ideological diversion.

The two sides emphasized that, despite the attacks of enemies, thanks to the growing strength and the energetic activity of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia and other socialist countries the relaxation of international tension remains the main and determining trend of the world's contemporary development. This process, which is taking place in a sharp, implacable class struggle, meets with the active support of all revolutionary, democratic and peace-loving forces. The nations of the world have become ever-increasingly convinced of the necessity and benefits of the relaxation of tension. The two sides confirmed their identical view that in present conditions there is no sensible alternative to the relaxation of tension and peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems.

The two sides underlined the CSCE's historical significance. They highly value the fact that the Belgrade meeting confirmed the need to continue the process that began in Europe with the Helsinki Conference, and they expressed the conviction that consistent and comprehensive fulfillment of the Final Act will contribute to insuring lasting peace and the development of mutually advantageous cooperation not only in Europe but also in other parts of the world.

The two sides expressed high appreciation of the CPSU's and the USSR Government's active foreign policy in realizing the program of the further struggle for peace and international cooperation adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress, as well as of the great personal contribution made by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the implementation of this program.

The CSSR and the MPR expressed their resolve--together with the other countries of the socialist community--to continue to systematically strive for the deepening of the process of relaxation of international tension and for it to be complemented in the military sphere so that this process will become permanent and irreversible.

The two sides consider that in current international conditions the two most important tasks are the safeguarding of peace and the prevention of nuclear war. They regard as an important task the mobilization of world public opinion against the NATO militarist circles' attempts to escalate armaments and to begin production of the neutron bomb and other weapons with great destructive potential.

Czechoslovakia and Mongolia welcome and fully support the new Soviet proposals for a qualitative and quantitative reduction of armaments and armed forces by states with great military potential and by other countries allied with them through military treaties.

The two sides positively assess the convocation of the UN General Assembly special session on disarmament, which should objectively evaluate the present situation in the sphere of disarmament, sum up the results which have already been achieved and, especially, determine concrete and long-range objectives in this sphere. They expressed the hope that the special session will become an important step toward the convocation of a world disarmament conference.

The two sides favor the successful conclusion of the negotiations on the reduction of the number of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. In this connection the CSSR and the MPR attach great importance to the new, constructive proposals submitted by the socialist countries at the Vienna negotiations on 8 June this year.

After assessing the situation in Asia, the two sides emphasized the necessity of insuring lasting peace and security on the continent through the joint efforts of the Asian states and of establishing peaceable and good-neighborly cooperation among them.

The CSSR and the MPR welcome the further strengthening of the positions of socialism in Southeast Asia, represented by the successfully developing Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV] and the Lao People's democratic republic.

The Czechoslovak and Mongolian delegations with all seriousness condemned the antisocialist and militarist line of the foreign policy of the PRC leadership, which has been allying itself with the world's most reactionary forces and which harms the interests of socialism and peace in the world, as well as the interests of the Chinese people themselves. The two delegations are convinced that only consistent opposition to the ideology of Maoism and the PRC's present foreign policy course will contribute to the further strengthening of the unity of the revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world. At the same time they reaffirmed their willingness to normalize their interstate relations with the PRC on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The two delegations expressed indignation at the slanderous campaign unleashed by the Chinese leadership against the SRV on the issue of citizens of Chinese origin in Vietnam. They fully support the SRV's position and proposals, its efforts to develop good-neighborly relations and cooperation in Southeast Asia, and its contribution to the consolidation of peace and security in the world.

The two sides stated that the conflict provoked by Cambodian military forces on the border with the SRV must be resolved in accordance with the Vietnamese Government's proposal in a peaceful manner and through negotiations, with mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial

integrity and in accordance with the interests of the people of the two countries.

The two delegations expressed support for the efforts made by the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the interest of reducing tension on the Korean Peninsula and insuring conditions for the peaceful unification of Korea on democratic foundations, and they demanded the withdrawal of all U.S. military detachments from South Korea.

The two sides condemned the aggressive policy of Israel and of international imperialism, which are the main cause of the aggravation of tension in the Middle East. They unanimously expressed their profound conviction that a lasting and just peace in this region can be achieved only on the basis of a complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories and on the condition of insuring the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their rights to self-determination and to establish their own state, and the right of all states in this area to an independent existence and security. They favor the resumption of the Geneva Middle East Conference attended by all directly involved parties having equal rights, including the PLO.

The two sides assessed the current situation in Africa. They agreed that observance of the principles of independence, sovereignty, inviolability of borders, territorial integrity and noninterference in the internal affairs of states in accordance with the provisions of the UN Charter corresponds to the interests of the relaxation of tension and the insurance of peace in this region. The two sides condemned the NATO states' interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Zaire, a matter that also endangers the independence of other African states as well as the national liberation movement in southern Africa.

At the same time the delegations condemn the neocolonialist plans to establish so-called pan-African forces under the auspices of imperialist states. Such plans pursue, above all, subversive activity against progressive African countries and national liberation movements.

The two sides expressed firm resolve to continue with all determination their support for African nations in their struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid and for the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism. They condemn the maneuvers of world reaction aimed at supporting the racist regimes in southern Africa in the interest of preserving imperialist exploitation in this area.

The two sides are determined to continue to provide support for the oppressed nations of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa, which are fighting for freedom, independence and equality.

The two delegations expressed solidarity with all the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America that are fighting for national independence and social progress, against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism. They confirmed their determination to continue to develop all-round cooperation with the socialist-oriented states and world revolutionary forces.

They also stated that the people of both countries support with all determination the struggle of the Chilean people against the fascist junta and condemn the despotism and terror committed against the country's patriotic forces.

The two sides value the role of the movement of nonaligned countries as an important factor in the struggle for peace and security and against imperialism and colonialism.

The two delegations confirmed the great importance of strengthening the United Nations as a universal authority for the preservation of peace and security and of seeking peaceful solutions of international problems on the basis of strict observance of the UN Charter by all states.

### III.

The CPCZ and the MPRP emphasize that in the past period there has been a further growth of the communist and workers movement, and its role and authority has increased on the national as well as the international scale. Communist parties in the nonsocialist countries are fighting for the rights of the workers class and of all working people against exploitation and oppression by state monopolist capital, against neocolonialism, and for a just and peaceable solution of international conflicts.

The two sides stated that the current international situation creates more favorable conditions for the activity of the communist and workers parties. The all-round growth of the strength and international authority of the USSR and the countries of the socialist community, the relaxation of tension, the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and the continuing process of the historical discrediting of the capitalist system--all this opens new possibilities for the communist parties to wage the struggle of the broad masses of the working people for a revolutionary, socialist prospect of development.

In the two sides' view the primary task remains the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the international communist and workers movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The two sides attach great importance to the Berlin conference of European communist and workers parties.

The CPCZ and the MPRP proceed from the fact that the life-giving strength of Marxism-Leninism lies in its constant development and enrichment by new experience. The two sides will continue to resolutely oppose all phenomena of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, as well as various trends of opportunism and revisionism.

Practice has confirmed that the various forms of contacts and relations between the CPCZ and the MPRP, the exchange of experience acquired from party work as well as from economic and cultural construction, are useful and fruitful. Therefore, the two delegations arrived at the agreement to continue this activity. Particular attention will be devoted to bilateral and multilateral consultations, to the exchange of views on topical questions of Marxist-Leninist theory and to the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the communist and workers parties. In this connection the Budapest consultation of secretaries of central committees of communist and workers parties of the socialist countries on international and ideological questions was highly evaluated.

In accordance with the conclusions of the aforementioned consultation, the two sides agreed that the joint ideopolitical measures on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution significantly contributed to the propagation of real socialism and the further cohesion of the revolutionary forces.

The two sides consider it necessary to continue this practice in connection with the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the GDR, the 20th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution and the anniversaries of the establishment of some fraternal parties.

The CPCZ and the MPRP--true to their revolutionary traditions--will continue to strengthen and deepen the indestructible combat bonds with the CPSU and with the communist and workers parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The two sides consistently take the Leninist path and will continue to exert all their energies in the struggle for the victory of the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

The Czechoslovak and Mongolian sides express the firm conviction that the results of the MPR party and government delegation's visit to the CSSR will become a new historical milestone in the development of mutual relations and will significantly contribute to the strengthening of international bonds between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and Mongolia, to the strengthening of the unity of the countries of the socialist community, and to the cohesion of the international communist and workers movement.

The MPR party and government delegation expressed to the CPCZ Central Committee, to the president of the republic, and to the government and the people of the CSSR profound thanks for the cordial reception and fraternal hospitality.



In the name of the MPRP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Great Hural and the MPR Government, Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal invited a CSSR party and government delegation led by Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, to pay an official friendly visit to the MPR.

The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Prague, 15 June 1978

[Signed] G. Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president

[Signed] Y. Tsedenbal, first secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the MPR People's Great Hural

CSO: 2400

## ALBANIA

### OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN VIETNAMESE AFFAIRS CONDEMNED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Jun 78 p 4

[Editorial: "Imperialists: Hands Off Vietnam"]

[Text] Three years have elapsed since the people of Vietnam won their great victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their hated servants. This opened the road for the realization of the lofty national aspirations of the entire people, both in the north and in the south. United Vietnam set to work for the peaceful construction of the country.

The U.S. imperialists did their utmost to break Vietnam, to put this country under their neocolonialist domination and turn it into an advanced place d'armes for aggressions against the other peoples of Asia. The entire military, economic and political potential of U.S. imperialism was used to bring to their knees and subjugate the heroic Vietnamese people. Over 6 million Americans took part directly or indirectly in this barbarous adventure, which has no precedent. The United States spent in Vietnam more than \$145 billion, dispatched there the most "outstanding" generals of the Pentagon, the most trained soldiers, the most modern weapons and the most deadly poisons. The U.S. presidents, one after another, Eisenhower and Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, invented and used all the strategies and "doctrines," implemented the policy of "Americanization" and "Vietnamization," the tactics of "scorched earth" and diplomatic tricks. But all this failed shamefully.

The Vietnamese people met the ferocities, barbarisms and trickeries of U.S. imperialism with their ardent patriotism, with their unflinching determination to fight, with their steel-like will to emerge victorious. The sacrifices the people of Vietnam made and the heroism they displayed in the struggle imposed on them by the imperialists are unprecedented. On the altar of victory they sacrificed the lives of millions of their finest sons, consumed all their material and spiritual energies, and the country was burned and scorched by the steel and fire of the bloody war.

The Vietnamese people enjoy the admiration, honor, respect and sympathy of all the peoples of the world for all these sacrifices and heroism, for this great and glorious contribution they made to the struggle of all the other freedom-loving peoples who have risen up against the aggressive policy of the imperialists.

Anyone who has no respect and gratitude for these superhuman sacrifices ought to be condemned.

The Albanian people, educated by their Workers Party Headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, sincerely supported and fully backed the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, wholeheartedly hailed their heroic victories and expressed their firm confidence in the triumph of their just cause. Our people, like all other peoples who supported the anti-imperialist and liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people, have desired that they might enjoy and consolidate the victories achieved with blood and sacrifices, live free and build their socialist homeland in peace.

But the conflicts created and the armed clashes on the Vietnamese-Cambodian border, stirred up by the foreigners, which have had many victims so far, have hindered the constructive peaceful work which had just begun in Indochina. All friends of Vietnam, including the Albanian people, have regretfully noted that the Vietnamese-Cambodian disagreements, instead of being solved in the spirit of friendship, mutual understanding and mutual interest, have become still more complicated as a result of foreign intervention.

The Albanian Workers Party has clearly expressed its viewpoint and stand in regard to this conflict. The editorial of ZERI I POPULLIT of 5 January this year, devoted to the events on the border between Cambodia and Vietnam, said that the Albanian people have stood for and stand for the conviction that the two neighboring countries and peoples, who fought together against imperialism and the same enemies, should stop any action which violates the noble interests of the two nations, the revolution and their freedom and should solve their disagreements by means of friendly talks. Our conviction has been and remains that this can be achieved through common efforts and good will.

But instead of the situation in that area becoming peaceful, it is aggravating and worsening more and more as a result of the new imperialist intrigues and plots of the superpowers. An atmosphere which promises no good has been created in regard to Vietnam. The freedom-loving peoples of the world are worried about the new events that are taking place, but they are convinced that the Vietnamese people, who have brilliant militant traditions and an indomitable spirit, will cope with and will overcome the new dangers and difficulties that have been created.

The hindering of the march of Vietnam on its road of independent development and peaceful construction affects and offends the consciousness of all peoples, of all those who want and respect the freedom and independence of the nations, the right of each country to decide its affairs.

Contradictory viewpoints may also exist between the neighboring countries on various questions. But we hold that this must not be a reason to create and stir up conflicts, that the just and correct road to solve disagreements is that of talks. To ask that questions be solved by imposing the views of one side through political, economic and other pressures is condemnable. This is a practice which the peoples long ago rejected.

Vietnam has its own political and ideological views. This is its own business. But we defend the rights of the people of Vietnam, the principle that each people decide for themselves the destinies of their own country, without outside interference. No one has the right to exert pressures and threats on them.

Those who choose such methods and do not agree to sit at the conference table to solve disagreements which may arise between neighboring countries are not right; they are weak in their arguments and are guilty. Therefore, anyone who thinks that he can impose his views and aims by means of pressure and blackmail should be certain that neither the Vietnamese people nor any free people accept.

Following the victory against U.S. imperialism and the reunification of the country, a new epoch began for the Vietnamese people, that of efforts to heal the numerous and grave wounds of the war, the period of socialist reconstruction and transformation. Now no one has the right to interfere in their internal affairs, to impede the solution of these tasks and to create difficulties for them. No one must interfere in the question of how Vietnam solves its own problems, how it treats the issues over which it is sovereign.

When outside pressures are exerted against Vietnam and efforts are made to dictate to it how to act and what to do in its own country, anyone can understand what is hidden behind the slogans and fine words "We support the freedom and independence of the peoples," "We render disinterested aid," "We observe the rights of nations," etc., which are used by the imperialists freely and carelessly.

Now the Vietnamese people are faced with new and great difficulties. But they have never been intimidated and subdued in the face of difficulties and pressures. They have learned how to resist and overcome them with determination, no matter how great they may be and whatever their source. Both in the past and at present, too, they enjoy the solidarity and sympathy of all the freedom-loving peoples, of all progressive forces. Those who stand loyal to proletarian internationalism consider it their duty to assist and support the Vietnamese people against the intrigues of the big powers and all those who willy-nilly support these powers.

## ALBANIA

### 'ZERI I POPULLIT' COMMENTS ON U.S., SOVIET AFRICAN POLICIES

Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 30 Jun 78 LD

[Text] Tirana, June 30 (ATA)--"'Theory of the Non-Aligned World' and 'Theory of the Three Worlds' in Unity for the Defense of the Imperialist Status Quo," under this title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT publishes an article which reads:

Important events have taken place in Africa and elsewhere in the recent times. The attention of the world public opinion has been concentrated in the painstricken African continent, which is swept over by the flames of various conflicts which the superpowers instigate and fan with all their forces. Fighting is going on in Ogaden and Eritrea, fighting is going on in Chad and Sahara, fighting is going on in Zaire and Angola, blood is shed in torrents in Rhodesia, in south and western Africa. The giant Russian aircraft "Antonov" are landing every day the mercenary soldiers in eastern and western Africa and the big U.S. "Hercules" are transporting at the center of the equator the foreign legion of France and the sherifian soldiers of the king of Morocco. The ministers of Britain, West Germany, U.S.A., etc, criss-cross Africa to convince the Zimbabwe, Namibian and Azanian uprisers to give up their weapons to the white racists.

The imperialists of the East and West quarrel with one another and cry to the top of their lungs and accuse one another of "interference in Africa," "for expansionist aims," "for the destruction of the international equilibrium," etc, etc. The old and new superpowers, the aged colonialists and the neocolonialists who have just stretched their tentacles, make haste to proclaim themselves as "defenders" of the peoples and "champions of peace" in Africa as earlier as possible. And under the fuss of this deafening propaganda and diabolic demagoguery, Africa is being inundated with foreign soldiers, with weapons and ammunition, with "experts and advisers," with diplomats and preachers.

The old colonialists and U.S. imperialism, the Soviet social imperialists and down to the other imperialists have created a unique front to undermine, put down and extinguish the struggle of the African peoples. All

of them try to preserve their colonial and neocolonial domination or to wrest the dominating positions of one another in that continent. Anything which may hinder the independent economic, political and social development, anything which may suffocate the aspirations of the African peoples for social progress and true democracy, anything that violates and denies their vital interests is good for the imperialist powers. No moral whatsoever, neither the religious one before which they swear, nor the bourgeois one for which they swear by all their god, stops them to torture the black people of South Africa and Rhodesia, to kill the poor peasants of Ethiopia, Zaire or Angola, to barbarously and insatiably plunder the African oil, copper, uranium, iron and phosphate.

Proceeding from the oldest imperialist principle "divide and rule," the colonialists have left as a heritage an endless number of border, ethnic, national and other problems to the new African states. Now, the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social imperialists and other imperialists make use of this situation to set the peoples one against the other and to hinder their unity in the struggle against the foreign and local exploiters. The imperialists and neocolonialists conduct a large-scale propaganda to incite the sentiments of hatred amongst the African countries, to instigate the old reciprocal feuds and to stir up new conflicts on narrow nationalist, tribal, racial and traditional grounds. They unsparingly supply them with weapons and instructors, advisers and specialists in order to train them how to clash with and better kill one another.

Today, the law in many countries of Africa is made by the powerful capitalist and imperialist states, which maintain and have under their direct dependence several local ruling cliques, which they bring to power or remove, or kill according to their interests. There are these anti-national, anti-people and reactionary cliques, who are the real gendarmes of neocolonialism, who protect the interests of the foreign capitals invested in Africa, who take under their protection the banks and affiliates of multi-national companies, who guarantee the maximum profits for the foreign monopolies, who maintain the people under their oppression and darkness so that they must not see how the imperialists and colonialists are looting and plundering them.

But now nothing can stop the awakening of the peoples of Africa, their struggle for freedom and independence, for the political and economic rights, their struggle for the complete sovereignty over the national resources and riches, for their culture and traditions. Neither the white mercenaries, nor the imperialist weapons, neither the dollars and rubles, neither the crosses of the missionaries nor the defeatist theories which are exported in abundance to that continent from far and wide the world can hinder the revival of Africa. This cannot be stopped either by those cliques sold out to the imperialists and neocolonialists,

no matter how zealous, inhuman and treacherous they may be. The freedom and emancipation of the African peoples is today a great demand of the time. Dark and regressive forces can make desperate efforts to bar it, but the wheel of history, just as until now, will always move forward.

Neither the theory of the so-called "non-aligned world," which is propagated with so much zeal by the Yugoslav revisionists, nor the "theory of the three worlds" can save the imperialist and neocolonialist domination in Africa, the reactionary cliques, which govern many countries of that continent. The "theory of the non-aligned world" and that of the "three worlds" are a creature with a double imperialist head aiming at deceiving the peoples and at coming to assistance to the imperialists in difficult situations. The political and ideological platform that the inventors of these two theories preach, is a strategy which intends to preserve the status quo, to divert the African peoples from the correct road of the revolutionary and liberation struggle, to defend the imperialist and neocolonialist domination in Africa, as well as in other regions and continents. They come to the assistance to the big imperialist powers, to the yesterday colonialists and present neocolonialists, so as to bar the economic, political and social development of the peoples.

The preachers of the "non-aligned world" try to spread the illusion that there can allegedly be created a movement with the countries, which are neutral and independent from the military blocs of the USA and the Soviet [Union], which may exert pressure on the "big" to obey to the logic and divert themselves from their expansionist policy, to be generous and divide the riches of the world rationally and rightfully. Therefore, they say, less resistance to the imperialist policy, less revolutionary struggle and actions to defend the rights of nations, less efforts to establish a clear border between the friends and enemies of the peoples. According to them, the need is to organize as many international conferences and seminars, meetings and theoretical disputes, to make as many concessions as possible to convince the Americans and the Soviets not to "align" the world. They say let us ask from the U.S., British, French, German, Belgian monopolies, etc., to display a good will and honesty in order to help for the economic, cultural and any other "progress" of Africa, Asia or Latin America.

This "non-aligned" world resembles a dream, but a dream which is clamorously advertised by imperialists and revisionists, neocolonialists and capitalists to maintain the peoples with illusions and divert them from the miserable reality they live in.

The fact that all the "theory of the non-aligned world" is a great fraud, which aims to lull the vigilance of the peoples to sleep and divert them from the real struggle against imperialism, and especially against the two

superpowers, is also proved by the everyday practice, when even the reactionary ruling cliques are presented as non-aligned, anti-imperialist, democratic, popular, progressive and even "socialist." But about what kind of "non-alignment" it can be spoken of when there are proclaimed and accepted as "non-aligned" even those countries where oppressive, counter-revolutionary and anti-people regimes are in power, which are linked with thousands of perceptible and invisible threads with world imperialism, with its military, economic, financial structures, etc. It is well known that without being formally members of NATO, Warsaw Treaty and any other military bloc, many states which are advertized as "non-aligned," fully align with one or the other superpower, or with both of them. as well as with the other big capitalist and imperialist powers, with a series of official and operating treaties and agreements.

How can the "theory of the non-aligned world" or that of the "three worlds" be considered as theories which fight for the freedom and emancipation of the peoples oppressed and exploited by imperialism, how they can be considered as theories which oppose the interference of the superpowers in the home affairs of the other countries, (?how can) it be that they are for the defense of the independence and sovereignty of the nations when they take under their protection and consider as their allies such hangmen and criminals as Mobutu, Bokasa, and any other savage enemies of their peoples and base lackeys of imperialism? How can those who sell out the interests of the homeland, who turn the leaf on the side of that who gives or promises them more, who today are with social imperialists and tomorrow will ally themselves with the Americans or vice-versa, be taken under protection and proclaimed as heroes of the struggle against the two superpowers, as is required by the "theory of the non-aligned world" and that of the "three worlds."

It is not at all fortuitous that the chieftains of U.S. imperialism such as Carter, the Soviet social-imperialists and other representatives of the imperialist powers, very enthusiastically and cordially express their support for the preachers of the "non-alignment."

This shows that their slogans and initiatives are in favour and in service of world imperialism to preserve its odious domination on the peoples, they are in the service of various reactionary, oppressive and proimperialist cliques who dominate on these peoples.

All the emptiness, demagoguery and falsity of the defenders of the "theory of the non-aligned world" and of the "three worlds" is immediately reflected when it is faced with the concrete events such as those of Africa. Always and in all the cases, they have ranked themselves on the side of the imperialists and neocolonialists, have supported their interferences, have become apologists of reaction. Let us take the events in Zaire.



It is difficult to define what happened in Shaba. What are these gendarmes from Katanga and those who caused the troubles, where they come from and where they go? The imperialists of the West and of the East make mutual accuses, trying to hide the truth. Others, who pose as the greatest friends of Africa, have openly allied with U.S. imperialism, have taken Mobutu under their protection and have made haste to support the dispatch and interference of foreign ministry expeditions in Shaba. The question arises: Perhaps doesn't the whole of Zaire constitute a state, as it has been defined by Belgian imperialism and as it has been approved by U.S., French imperialism, etc? Are there ethnical problems, problems of nationalities and others of this nature? Have they been solved properly? It follows from the "theory of the people of Zaire, to whom they belong, but the foreign legionnaires and the African spahis.

The theory of the "non-aligned world," of the "three worlds," of the "free world," and of all the other bourgeois and revisionist "worlds" have one aim: not to help the peoples to find the road of the true revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle, but to introduce them on an erroneous road which is not dangerous to the imperialist domination. They want to preserve the present status quo, the turbulent and oppressive situation created by the old and new colonialists, in order to deceive the peoples that they are "non-aligned," that they "are free," etc.

But the African peoples, the sound revolutionary forces cannot have trust in the "theory of the non-aligned world" and of the "three worlds," which are showing with every passing day in practice, whom do they serve. They cannot trust those reactionary cliques which are in the service of the foreigners. In the lead of various African states there are also people who want good to their people, who sincerely try to bring their country on the road of progress. But various pressures are exerted on them from inside and outside, especially by the zealous supporters of the "non-aligned" and of "the theory of the three worlds," who try to impose on them the views and ideology of subjugation to imperialism, to make them fall in the numerous traps laid by the old and new colonialists.

There are also realistic leaders of some African states, who want and make efforts to strengthen the unity of the African peoples and states against imperialism and neocolonialism, against every interference in their home affairs. Both the imperialists and the preachers of the theory of the "non-aligned world" and of the "theory of the three worlds" fight against such leaders. They consider them as "radicals" and "undesirable." But the African peoples have already a long experience of war against the foreign oppressors and their various lackeys and know to make the distinction between those who really defend them and those who betray them. We cannot tell how these statesmen should act, but their good aims should be defended. Every people know to judge on the good aims as well as on the bad aims of their own leaders. And they have always defended the good aims, as they have fought against the bad aims. The

present developments on the African Continent prove that there cannot be genuine independence and sovereignty, and correct economic and social development either, there cannot be democracy and progress, if all the old and new imperialists, be they the U.S. imperialists, Soviet social imperialists and others are not resolutely fought against, if those local reactionary cliques in the service of imperialism and neocolonialism are not consistently fought against, if the various opportunist theories, of the "non-aligned world" or of the "three worlds" are not exposed. The correct road, required by the situations, for the peoples of Africa and the other regions where imperialism and neocolonialism rule, is the organized and resolute resistance against the political, economic and military interference of the imperialists, against their dangerous plots and intrigues, against the fraudulent ideologies and the demagoguery made by the foreign powers. The destiny of the African peoples is in their own hands. All the progressive world public opinion is with them. The Albanian people have been and will always be determined on the side of and to the assistance by the fraternal African peoples.

CSO: 2020

ALBANIA

PARTY JOURNAL ANALYZES EUROCOMMUNISM, 'THREE WORLDS' THEORY

Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 3 Jul 78 LD

[Text] Tirana, July 3 (ATA)--Present-day revisionism, as a tool of anti-communism in the service of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and reaction, is expressing itself in different forms and variants, is being "enriched" with anti-scientific currents and pseudo-theories, which are opposed to Marxism-Leninism and which, in essence, are variants of Khrushchevite revisionism.

Eurocommunism Is an Amalgam of Theories of Bernstein, Trotskiy, Khrushchev, Tito, Brezhnev and the Present-Day Reactionary Bourgeois and Imperialist Sociology

One such "new" revisionist current is the so-called Eurocommunism, writes the magazine RRUGA E PARTISE, theoretical and political organ of the C.C. of the Party of Labour of Albania in an article entitled: "Eurocommunism--an Openly Anti-Communist Current of Present-Day Revisionism."

Eurocommunism, as revisionism which has thrown off all disguise, the article reads among others, is an amalgam of the theories of Bernstein, Trotskiy, Khrushchev, Tito, Brezhnev and the present-day reactionary bourgeois and imperialist sociology.

The intention of the "theories" of Eurocommunists is to revise the whole of Marxism, to replace dialectical revolutionary development with simple "evolution," to propagate idealism and religion, to try to refute the Marxist-Leninist theory of the inevitability of the overthrow and bankruptcy of capitalism, to rise against the foundations of Marxism, against the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Simple Reformist Demands of Eurocommunists Far From Threatening the Bourgeois Order, Are Intended To Save it From Profound Upheavals

The Eurocommunists try to identify the struggle for socialism with the struggle for democracy and to replace the violent revolution with the

struggle to carry out certain bourgeois-democratic transformations, which in no way affect the essence of the economic-social order of capitalist oppression and exploitation. "This program, if it can be called a program, Enver Hoxha (?said) at the 7th congress of the party about the programs of the present-day revisionist parties, has been reduced to a few simple reformist demands, which, far from threatening the bourgeois order, are intended to save it from profound upheavals and make it more workable in the new situations."

The absolutising of democracy, the parliamentary road, the use of them and of reforms as the road of transition to socialism has nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist theory on the socialist revolution. Marxism-Leninism and historical experience teach us that the struggle for democracy serves the cause of the proletariat only when it is linked with the preparation of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, when it is used to raise the political consciousness of the working class and the working masses, to strengthen their organization and to engage the masses in the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The development of events in the world today, the anti-imperialist and liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples, the revolts of the workers and working masses in the developed capitalist countries too, show that the reformist revisionist alternative does not correspond to the reality and the aspirations of the masses.

Eurocommunists Deny the Socialist State, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The Eurocommunists, the article says further on, openly defend the exploiting bourgeois state and give it a "democratic" facade, preaching that it has now changed. However, nothing has changed in the essence of the present-day bourgeois state. It is still a blood-thirsty dictatorship, which kills, maims, and savagely and mercilessly oppresses the peoples, the working class and anything in favour of liberation and progress. To declare, for example, that Spain has been democratized to a high degree, as Carillo did at the 9th congress of the Spanish revisionist party, that violence and terror do not exist in the bourgeois countries, at a time when the strikes and demonstrations of the proletariat and the working masses are being put down with fire and steel, means to try to deceive the proletariat and to prettify the oppressive machine of the bourgeois state. While acting in this way towards the bourgeois state, the Eurocommunists deny the socialist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the state of the workers and peasants.

Loyal to the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin the Party of Labour of Albania, a resolute fighter against revisionism and opportunism of every shade, has always defended the thesis that the powerful and decisive weapon to carry the socialist revolution through to

complete and final victory, to build the new society, without class distinction and classes, is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To Realize Their Aims the Eurocommunists Have Undertaken a Large-Scale Offensive Against the Marxist-Leninist Doctrine

To realize their aims, the article continues, the Eurocommunists have undertaken a large-scale offensive against the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, so as to denigrate the sole revolutionary theory of the proletariat. Their ultimate goal is to divert and make the working class move away from the revolutionary ideology, from this irreplaceable theoretical weapon for the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist society into a communist society. The abandoning of Marxism-Leninism led the Eurocommunists also to the denial of the leading and inseparable role of the revolutionary party of the proletariat. But Marxism-Leninism, by scientifically substantiating the necessity of the leading role of the revolutionary party of the working class, stresses that both the carrying out of the proletarian revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of classless society is impossible without such a leadership.

"Socialism" of Eurocommunists Has Nothing in Common With Genuine Socialism

The article of the magazine RRUGA E PARTISE stresses further on: The unprincipled claim of Eurocommunists that "socialism" they are propagating is an "original" socialism, that they are advancing on "untrodden" paths, etc, is quite groundless. The truth is quite the opposite. Making completely their own the anti-marxist theses of the reactionary social-democracy, they are running quickly on the road opened by the 20th congress of the Soviet revisionists party. ("Western) communism" too, that the Eurocommunists propagate, is nothing else but a bourgeois image of socialism, it is that "democratic socialism" or "human socialism" that the reactionary social-democracy has long since proclaimed and which counterpoises the scientific socialism of Marx and Lenin. Such a "socialism" has nothing in common with the genuine socialism for which the working class aspires to and is fighting under the leadership of the proletarian party, because through the pseudo-socialism preached by the lackeys of the bourgeoisie of the type of Marchais, Berlinguer, Carillo, etc, the class of the capitalists wants to preserve its private capitalist property, its political privileges and domination intact.

Our party has stressed that at the present epoch the question of coping with the revisionist pseudo-socialisms is not raised at all, nor the invention of new "socialisms." Genuine socialism exists and is developing both in theory and practice. It is successfully being built in Albania, where a rich historical experience has been accumulated, based on the

Marxist-Leninist theory, which has been proved in life for its vitality. Relying only on this theory and implementing it in the conditions of each country in struggle with any ideological and political pluralism, the revolutionary forces will find the correct road to socialism.

#### The Soviet Revisionists Are on the Same Ideological Positions with Eurocommunists

The article says further on that the Eurocommunists put the defense of the interests of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and its aggressive-military-economic alliances on everything. Which is a new step on the road of the counterrevolutionary collaboration between U.S. imperialism and the local monopoly bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the Eurocommunists and all the modern revisionists, on the other.

The social democracy too, has adopted a positive stand towards Eurocommunism. The article stresses that the Soviet revisionists are on the same ideological and political positions with the Eurocommunists, who have as their basic source the Khrushchevite revisionist ideology. But they have not failed to see that the emergence of Eurocommunists in such an open way against the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the socialist revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat tears off the mask of their demagogy. Therefore, they have made some "criticism" to Eurocommunism in order to create the false impression that they do not agree with some "exaggerations" of the Eurocommunists.

It must be stressed that Eurocommunism has been applauded also by the Yugoslav revisionists because the latter compare it with their emergence in 1948 and present their unadherence to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which they have betrayed completely, as a "bold" action. They make this analogy to prove their anti-Marxist theses on "specific socialism," "national communism," so as to convince the others that socialism can be built and the homeland can be defended with the U.S. aid.

#### One Finds Common Things Between Eurocommunism and the "Theory of the Three Worlds"

One also finds common things between Eurocommunism and the "theory of the three worlds," the article stresses. The latter, just as Eurocommunism, preaches the political and ideological pluralism, denies the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, treating the antagonistic contradictions between them as non-antagonistic contradictions, as contradictions which develop and are solved allegedly in the fold of the people, supports the military and economic imperialist alliances and preaches the possibility of the construction of socialism with the aid of U.S. imperialism. All this has created the necessary

premises for a counterrevolutionary collaboration between these two currents of present-day revisionism. In his talk with the cadres of the Gjirokaster District, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "The theory of the 'three worlds,' the champions of which deny the revolution and hinder the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence, compete on this road in defense of capitalism and imperialism, and especially of U.S. imperialism."

The Eurocommunist Revisionist Parties, Like All the Other Variants of Present-Day Revisionism, Are Obedient Tools in Service of the Monopoly Bourgeoisie

In conclusion the magazine RRUGA E PARTISE writes:

Though Eurocommunism acts as a revisionism which comes out openly, which puts off the masks, it must not be thought that this anti-communist revisionist variant does not employ demagoguery. As renegades from Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, the Eurocommunists state at the same time that allegedly they "adhere to the revolutionary essence of Marxism," that they are fighting for the "cause of communism," etc. This deceitful demagoguery can not live for a long time. The revolutionary proletariat and all the oppressed classes in the capitalist countries are becoming more and more aware that the Eurocommunist revisionist parties, like all the other variants of present-day revisionism, are obedient tools in service of the monopoly bourgeoisie. As such, no future lies in store for them, because they have placed themselves in defense of the rotten capitalist system condemned by history with its inevitable destruction and liquidation. The future belongs to the revolution, socialism, the proletariat and the oppressed peoples, who will rise in struggle and in revolution to topple the capitalist and imperialist domination from its foundation. The opportunists and renegades come and go, but the proletariat, its ideology, Marxism-Leninism remain an invincible force.

CSO: 2020

BULGARIA

PREMIER'S TOAST AT CEMA COUNCIL RECEPTION IN BUCHAREST

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Jun 78 p 8 AU

[Toast by Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, at 29 June CEMA Council reception in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Manescu, dear comrades, on behalf of the participants in the 32d CEMA Council session I am delighted to express our sincere gratitude to the RCP Central Committee, the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and to you personally, Comrade Manescu, for the warm reception accorded to us, as well as for the wonderful conditions for fruitful work on the part of this high forum of our organization. I wish the fraternal Romanian people new successes in constructing the developed socialist society.

The 32d CEMA Council session will go down in history as the one that approved the admission of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam as a regular member of the organization. This is a logical consequence of the comprehensive development of Vietnam and of the cooperation with our countries during the years of the anti-imperialist struggle. It has once again been confirmed that socialist integration is an objective need of our time. We sincerely and fraternally greet our Vietnamese comrades on joining CEMA. We express our deep conviction that with the cooperation of the fraternal socialist countries Vietnam will quickly overcome the serious consequences of the decades--long struggles against imperialism and will prosper despite the difficulties created by the forces that hinder peace and the country's socialist construction.

The participation in our meeting of the People's Republic of Angola, the DPRK, socialist Ethiopia and the Lao People's Democratic Republic is a remarkable fact. We wish the peoples of these countries great successes in socioeconomic development and in the socialist reconstruction of social life.

I think that we will return to our countries deeply satisfied with what we have achieved in our meeting to develop economic and scientific-technical



cooperation for the benefit and happiness of our peoples. The collective decisions adopted by us mark a new and qualitatively higher stage in developing socialist economic integration. We have discussed the cardinal problems of cooperating in the areas of production, technology and science. We adopted the first long-term programs. They are the result of an intensive and continuous work conducted by the countries and CEMA's organs. The decisive role of the USSR as well as the consistent and internationalist line of the CPSU are outlined in these programs. The programs reflect the great possibilities of real socialism for solving the complex questions of the dynamics and economic growth of our community's countries by joint efforts and on a basis of mutual advantage. Of course, we all realize that a huge and intensive work confronts us in order to concretize and implement the programs.

We outlined active measures for perfecting the organization of the many-sided cooperation in CEMA's activity. This is especially necessary in view of the large-scale tasks we are to solve in developing our national economies and strengthening the integrational relations between our countries.

I would like to note with satisfaction that our meeting took place in a spirit of full understanding and mutual respect. A marked striving to search with joint efforts for effective solutions of the complex socio-economic and scientific-technical problems that are facing us was evident throughout the meeting. This multiplies our powers and increases our possibilities to march confidently along the road of socialism and communism.

Allow me to propose a toast to the health of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

To the health of Manea Manescu, premier of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

To further developing the friendship and fraternal cooperation of the CEMA member countries.

To increasing the authority and influence of our community throughout the world.

To your health, comrades!

CSO: 2200

## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

CEMA STANDARDIZATION SESSION--The 43d plenary session of the CEMA Standardization Commission has opened at the Mosvka Hotel in Sofia. Representatives of the SRV, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Hungary, the CSSR and Bulgaria were present. A Yugoslav representative attended the session as an observer. Oleg (?Dyuren), Chairman of the International Standardization Organization, was also present. Nacho Papazov, chairman of the Committee for Science and Technical Progress, conveyed greetings on behalf of the Bulgarian Government. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 30 Jun 78 AU]

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR PREMIER ADDRESSES CEMA MEETING IN BUCHAREST

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Jun 78 p 7 AU

["From the speech" by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal at the CEMA meeting in Bucharest on 27 June]

[Text] Addressing the CEMA meeting in Bucharest, CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal said, among other things:

The reports submitted to our session provide a sufficient basis for a deeper assessment of the present state of our mutual cooperation, as well as for evolving a joint economic-political strategy. We, too, share the view that the process of socialist economic integration among the CEMA member states, which has developed in a planned manner, has continued to make progress and has favorably influenced our states' economic development.

Our positive standpoint on the results achieved is based on the assessment carried out by the CPCZ Central Committee at its session in March. The first 2 years of the Sixth Five-Year Plan--as Comrade Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and president of the republic, said in his speech at this session--fully confirmed in practice the correctness of the established program of Czechoslovakia's economic and social development.

The analysis revealed at the same time, however, that the problems we are facing are becoming more and more complicated and demanding and that we have not fully mastered them, particularly in the sphere of effectiveness. To solve them--as Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said in his speech at the recent deliberations of the CSSR and USSR party and government delegations in Prague--we must not only make full use of the forces and abilities of our entire society and of each of its conscious members, but must also constantly deepen and develop the fraternal cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries.

We are taking an active part in the successful fulfillment of the agreed plan of multilateral integration measures for the 1976-80 period. We state with satisfaction that the tasks in construction and in putting important new facilities into operation on time have been successfully completed. We must pay much more attention to the sphere of scientific-technical cooperation. The objective need for a substantial improvement in the technical standard of the production of our states mercilessly dictates that we be very exacting, particularly in this sphere, and demands the fulfillment of agreed measures on time.

We agree with the submitted draft of the basic course for perfecting the organization of multilateral cooperation among the CEMA member states and of the [CEMA] Council's activity. We regard this document as an important step in the constant effort to further develop and rationalize the methods of our cooperation.

We expect that the Executive Committee will continue to give attention to these questions and will prepare the necessary further measures corresponding to the demanding conditions of future development of the overall economic system and will also give attention to creating favorable economic conditions that will stimulate the integration process more and more effectively.

The submitted long-term target program drafts represent a collectively elaborated framework of the member states' strategy of approach to the solution of the most important national economic problems--both in multilateral and bilateral cooperation. This will also make it possible to form an effective structure of our community's economy for a longer period.

There is no doubt that by resolving and implementing the agreed packet of proposed measures we will continue to deepen the process of the internationalization of our economic life, that we will bring about the closer multilateral and bilateral relations that are so necessary and, last but not least, that we will enrich our cooperation with new forms and methods.

The submitted packets of measures for special-purpose programs are very extensive and varied. From this it is obvious that in determining specific mutual relations and the possible deadlines for the realization of individual measures it will be necessary to differentiate among them according to the degree of importance and urgency. This is a job that confronts us this year and next. Therefore, we consider that our efforts and the activity of the Council's bodies must, above all, be directed to the most important and urgent measures in such a way that it will be possible to make maximum economic development plans for the 1981-85 period.

As Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev stressed at the recent meeting of the CSSR and USSR party and government delegations, the main emphasis must be on increasing the effectiveness of our relations to the maximum and taking into consideration not only the present needs but also long-term prospects.

In generalizing the experience acquired from the preparation of the special-purpose programs, we also assessed further contexts, particularly the conditions of our economic development in the eighties. We pondered the trends of this development within our community as well as in the world economy. Our view is that in cooperation with the other states of the community we in our economic policy must insure that the process of adaptation to the new conditions is not only smooth and effective, but that there is also the necessary degree of continuity of the existing economic development while maintaining the constant efforts to raise its effectiveness.

It is from these points of view that we proceed in working on the long-range prospects of our national economy, in determining the basic proportions of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, and also in determining how our economy can participate more effectively in the international division of labor.

We are aware that it will be difficult and demanding to insure further smooth development. At present we estimate that after 1980 the average annual growth of our social product and national income will be a little over 4 percent. Industry will remain the decisive source of our social product, and its production should increase on the average by almost 5 percent annually. When it comes to shaping the industry's future internal structure, we are thinking of further enhancing its export character, of alleviating the current fuel-energy problems, of increasing still more the role of the engineering and chemical industries, and of a higher degree of utilization of basic raw materials in all branches of the national economy.

The efforts to participate more intensively in the international division of labor and to use the advantages of socialist economic integration are manifested also in our intention [uvaha] to increase the share of imports in the creation of the social product and to increase the share of exports in making use of the social product.

Our primary task in the sphere of fuels and energy continues to be the maximum development of our own resources, above all of the extraction of black and brown coal, the construction of nuclear power plants, as well as a rational utilization of all types of fuels and energy. Of the measures in the draft long-term special-purpose program, we regard those

that concern the development of nuclear power engineering and bilateral measures to insure deliveries of oil and natural gas from the USSR as having priority.

The nuclear power engineering development program plays a decisive role in solving the future needs for electric power. The extent of construction of nuclear power plants in the CEMA member states, including the construction of nuclear power plants in western Ukraine, has already been clarified in principle during the elaboration and realization of this program. Of course, we are aware that the decisive prerequisite for the realization of this program is to insure the production of the necessary installations.

The CSSR is greatly interested in the solution of these questions because--among other things--on the basis of agreements that have already been concluded with the Soviet Union, by 1985 it has to produce 23 complete VVER-440 reactors destined both for export and for the domestic construction of nuclear power plants. For this reason we have been building the necessary capacities in metallurgical plants and in the engineering industry. We have expended considerable funds for their construction. In this connection we attach great importance to the multilateral agreement on the specialization and cooperation of production for nuclear power plants.

Cooperation in developing production that requires a lot of energy near the sources of energy and exchanging it for production that does not require a lot of energy from countries with limited energy sources could contribute significantly to resolving fuel and energy problems. The multilateral framework agreement in the sphere of chemical production that is being prepared could serve as an example here.

As regards the agricultural-food complex, the CSSR's intentions for the next 10 years can be described as the continuation of the course aimed at achieving self-sufficiency in grain production and increasing the overall self-sufficiency in foodstuffs. Therefore, the solution of the grain problem remains the key issue in the center of our attention. At the same time we take a comprehensive view of this matter. Thus, we are interested not only in increasing grain production but also in increasing the production of bulk fodder and root crops, in insuring an adequate quantity of protein components [komponenty], and last but not least, in an effective use of fodder in animal production.

Despite the fact that our states have already achieved a number of positive results in the comprehensive solution of the grain problem, it is our view that we have yet to master it completely. Therefore--from the viewpoint of future needs--we still regard this problem as important. Because of this, we see the submitted draft long-term special-purpose program in

the sphere of the agricultural-food complex as an important step toward solving this problem.

In view of this main task, we will actively participate in the implementation of those measures of the long-term special-purpose program that will contribute to the successful mastering of the grain problem. One of the important factors in this respect should be a further increase in the present cooperation to make consistent and purposeful use of our best strains of seeds and of the genetic qualities of livestock. The joint solving of biological and technological questions and the creation of material prerequisites, particularly in the engineering and chemical industries, show that here, too, in the sphere of agriculture, there are extensive possibilities for cooperation.

When we were assessing the submitted draft long-term special-purpose program in engineering, we asked ourselves which measures from the wide range of possibilities should be given priority in order to achieve the set goals, primarily in the field of fuels, power and raw materials and in developing the production base in engineering.

Our experience shows that the solution of this problem will also require a considerable concentration of forces and means if we are to achieve a fundamental turn for the better in this field. The solution can only be the joint effort to considerably intensify the international socialist division of labor, both in the sphere of research and development and in production proper. However, we cannot be concerned only with specialization in complementing fields, such as the production of spare parts, and to develop mutual cooperation in manufacturing machines and equipment.

We want to contribute to the solution of these serious problems, above all in the field of machine tools, highly productive shaping and hydraulic elements, energy equipment, particularly for nuclear power plants, as well as in the field of automation of production processes and in the development of integrated circuits.

In this context we would like to express appreciation for the Soviet Union's approach to solving this problem and stress the significance of the agreement concluded between Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of our republic, and Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on the preparation of a long-term bilateral program of specialization and cooperation between our states.

The Czechoslovak side is fully aware that we are entering a new and more demanding stage of mutual cooperation among the CEMA member states. We

will certainly encounter new and more complicated economic-political problems which will place great demands on us. The work we will have to do this year and next in negotiating individual concrete measures will be an important test of our determination to materialize the special-purpose programs. It will depend on this work to what degree it will be possible to use its results in preparing Five-Year Plans for the 1981-85 period and thus, in fact, begin implementing the long-term special-purpose programs. The Czechoslovak side approves the adoption of the submitted drafts of the long-term special-purpose programs and--in view of the importance it attaches to them--also the adoption of the statement by the heads of governments, Lubomir Strougal said in conclusion.

CSO: 2400



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### STROUGAL OPENS EXHIBITION MARKING 600TH ANNIVERSARY OF CHARLES IV

Prague CTK in English 1723 GMT 26 Jun 78 LD

[Text] Prague, June 26, CETEKA--Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal opened at Prague Castle today an exhibition marking the 600th anniversary of the death of Bohemian King and Roman Emperor Charles IV (1316-1378), "The Times of Charles IV in the History of the Nations of Czechoslovakia."

The opening ceremony was attended by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Communist Party and Czechoslovak president, and other party and government officials.

The premier said the exhibition should strengthen in every visitor the awareness of the rich and glorious traditions of the Czech and Slovak peoples, the contribution to European and world culture and civilization, and their most progressive traditions.

The aim of the exhibition is to strengthen the new, socialist patriotism, and be an inspiration to committed participation in the highly humane work that is being created by the Czechoslovak people, side by side with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, drawing upon everything positive in national history.

The premier said that in the historically most valuable part of Prague Castle, a representative selection of Czechoslovakia's art treasures, important political documents and other exhibits have been put on display.

The exhibition traces the thousand years of development of the Czechs and Slovaks up to the present. It traces the history of the country since the first settlements in what is today Czechoslovakia were established by Czechs and Slovaks, tells the visitors about the struggles of the people for social progress, about the glorious chapters of Czechoslovakia's history as well as about the times when the language and the national awareness of the Czechs and Slovaks were kept alive only by the simple people, and handed from generation to generation.

Premier Strougal said that the exhibition underscored the idea of the Czechoslovak statehood which played an important role in the national liberation struggles of the Czechs and the Slovaks. The objective and logical outcome of the best popular, national and revolutionary traditions was the establishment of the new social order, in which the working people administer their affairs in their socialist country.

The central part of the exhibition is the rule of Charles IV, when for the first time in the history of central Europe a Bohemian king ruled the whole medieval Roman Empire, and made a firm Czech state its political centre.

Incontestably, Bohemia played an avant garde role in Europe at that time, by virtue of its high standard of education, art and contemporary knowledge and thinking. Despite the controversial personality and statesmanship of Charles IV, he undeniably did much for the flowering of the Czech state which played a leading role in the fragmented Europe of the time.

Thus it is not just a coincidence that the work and personality of Charles IV were frequently distorted abroad, at variance with objective facts, and misused for narrow nationalist interests. Premier Strougal said that at present, this was being done especially by West German nationalists and revanchists who distort historical truth in keeping with their wishes and pseudo-political requirements.

"We esteem the bequest of our national history, and we underline above all the force which is the real originator of social progress, because the history of mankind and of every nation is above all the history of working man. Behind all progress we find countless generations of working people. It is they who are the principal creators of all material values, making possible also the development of the cultural sphere," Premier Strougal said.

CSO: 2020

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### FRG REACTION TO EXTRADITION OF TERRORISTS FROM BULGARIA CRITICIZED

Prague CTK in English 0946 GMT 26 Jun 78 LD

[Text] Prague, June 26, CETEKA--certain forces are trying to make use of the resolute action of one of the socialist countries against terrorism for veiled attacks on socialism in general, says RUDE PRAVO today on the response in West German news media to the quick action of Bulgaria, which extradited terrorist Meyer and his three partners who escaped from a West Berlin prison.

The reader is to get an impression as if the terrorists found some sympathies in the socialist states, and that if it were not for these countries, the successes in combatting the terrorists would be greater. The straw from the boots of the capitalist system is to be inconspicuously smuggled into a social system which through its whole existence and principles of home and foreign policies has rejected any terrorism as a means of carrying out the ideals of socialism, RUDE PRAVO says.

"And what about posing the question whether the FRG is not a convenient place for the terrorists who hijacked several planes from Czechoslovakia and to whom an aura has been attached of martyrs and heroes--ordinary criminals who jeopardized dozens of human lives. The FRG (?reacted in another) way in the case of Weinhold who shot two GDR border guards in December 1975 and whom a Federal German court refused to extradite recently for punishment to the GDR," the daily says.

It says it is necessary to agree with the principle voiced by FRG Interior Minister Baum that broad international cooperation is necessary for the struggle against terrorism. However, words are not sufficient. So long as the slandering of socialism will suffice for pardoning the crime of plane hijackers and so long as a fabrication about 'oppression in the East' will suffice for a lenient judgement of the murder of two people, terrorism will thrive, the daily adds.

CSO: 2020

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

EXILED WRITER KUNDERA INTERVIEWED BY YUGOSLAV JOURNALISTS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1430, 4 Jun 78  
pp 36-38

[Article by Stevan Stanic]

[Text] Paris, recently--Is it possible that Milan Kundera is a dissident? What was it that caused this Czech writer of the brilliant novel, "A Joke," translated in Yugoslavia and even adapted for the stage of the Belgrade Drama Theatre, and which Louis Aragon announced to the whole world as one of the most significant works of art of this century, no longer to live in his country? That horrible term--dissident, which in our time denotes a heretic, renegade, or, somewhat mildly put, "one who deviates in his opinion," has isolated a number of artists and scientists, who, branded with this horrible stigma, wander in alien countries, spending their lives "in some other places."

The Mistake on the Poster

With a certain degree of discomfort about prying into a case of tragic misunderstanding between the individual and society, we dial a telephone number in Rennes, looking for the writer Milan Kundera in that "other place":

"Yes, yes, this is Milan Kundera. I received your letter. Did you speak with Louis Guyot? I am glad you chose him. He is perhaps a better writer than Aragon. How is the weather in Paris? It is raining here. In Rennes it rains constantly. This might be the ugliest city in France.... No, I am not lonely. My wife and I have more friends here than we have time for. The problem of isolation is quite the opposite: we must constantly protect our isolation. No, we do not have a feeling of being deserted. It is a long way to Rennes, a full 400 kilometers. Do not come here, what would you do in this bleak city. Yes, I will come there, I have begun to miss Paris anyway...."

So, this is the way it started: a little about the weather, a little about the nightmare of isolation, a little about abandonment which suffocates....

Those who know the Czechs better, told me: "You had better go out in the street and wait, he is a Slav, he will forget the number, make a mistake, lose his way." Indeed, there is someone who might be Kundera, looking at the numbers of the houses and entering one which is not ours. Here he is, coming out: tall, slender, healthy looking, wearing a black corduroy blouse, a red sports jersey, his hair completely gray, but not his eyebrows, his face is youthful, generation between 1929-30. But, this type almost resembles Ludvik Jan, the hero of "A Joke." Even Petar Banicevic who played him in the Belgrade Drama Theatre is one of his versions. "Milan...!"

And this "Milan...." was the beginning of our meeting. "Do you know that your name is purely Serbian?"

"In Bohemia, where I was born, there is a great pro-Serbian tradition, which can also be seen by the names people gave to their children. I am also a 'victim' of such a pro-Serbian wave."

We could not bear not to tell him what we saw in the "Jean Villard" theatre in one of Paris' communist municipalities in Vitris: before the performance of his play "Love Games" the manager of the theatre showed us a poster ready to be pasted all over Paris on which, instead of Milan, was written Milos Kundera.

"Such a mistake would surely not have occurred in your Czech country?"

"No, of course not....," he said bowing his head, and in the silence one could hear him swallow. "So, we have to talk about that, it cannot be avoided. Indeed, it cannot be avoided...."

#### The Banning of the Book

Should we tell him that we were also trying to think of a way to avoid all of this, being constantly afraid that the writer of "A Joke" would disgrace himself in front of us, that he would perhaps begin to disparage his country. For the time being we shall not reveal either the atmosphere which his translated book created in our country, when people came and spoke about having "cried like babies" over the pages of his novel...yet, we must begin somewhere:

"We were in Prague," as we say, "in the early spring of 1969. The intervention was over, you were in Prague at the time, your "A Joke" had been published, they were making a movie based on your novel. A man told us the story of his life under Stalinist torture, the years of his youth spent with the criminal battalions in mines deep under the ground, and he thought you had written the novel precisely about him. We looked for you everywhere, we found the book, but not you. What was that interval like when your book did not disturb anyone at the time?"

"That is something which no one can understand. That was a time full of strange contradictions. It was between 21 August 1968 and March of 1969, and paradoxically, everyone was experiencing this period very intensely as one of great excitement."

"When did you leave Czechoslovakia for France?"

"I came here 3 years ago, 1975. It was all very ambiguous: since 1969 I was jobless, expelled from the university, because I was against the intervention. This also involved additional consequences, such as the ban on the publication of my works, all of my books were even pulled out of public libraries. My wife worked on television a while longer, and she was also thrown out. What could I do then? In 1974, when I received an invitation from a university in France, our authorities in Czechoslovakia permitted me to leave the country. Thus, I came here quite legally, and have been at the University in Rennes since 1975, teaching modern comparative Central European literature."

#### A Future That Was

"But, before that the great author Louis Aragon had complimented your book. We recall his admiration, his thrill over one of your lines. We can also cite that sentence: 'It is true that they are that way; those who know everything in advance. They are familiar with the development of future matters. The future was already long ago, for them it is only a repetition....,' and then Aragon added: 'I do not know of a more horrifying sentence than this one, it makes me shudder.'"

"This sentence was excerpted from a very concrete dialogue in the novel, it was a discussion between two characters. This phrase, however, now that Aragon has extracted it, suddenly acquires a meaning different from the original, becoming a true 'slogan,' an appeal, a catchword, a familiar motto. In my novel it had a very modest meaning. I no longer remember, but its purport would be roughly to the effect that for doctrinaire people, the future does not have the character of invention, discovery of new things, surprises, but it appears to be rather a realization of something which already was. 'Orthodox Marxist thinkers,' for example, adopt this definition of the future very frequently. They know in advance what is going to take place. But a future with which we are familiar in advance is no longer a future."

Milan Kundera pauses at this point to ask how this line sounds from the stage of the Belgrade Drama Theatre. We attempt to recollect and the only thing left in our memory, we tell him, is a general atmosphere and the audience--some young men and women, who seemed to have been brought collectively from a factory--were making loud remarks during the love scenes, while in the end they walked out dejected and quiet. We present him with several copies of the program of "A Joke" with a front page showing the youthful face of the main character shattered like in a mirror, and the message of the manager, Miodrag Ilic, that the performance is still going on, and it received an award from the Community for Culture.

Initially--Fascinated by Aragon

Now we would like to somehow gather those broken pieces around Kundera's novel and arrange them, if at all possible, in a logical and intelligible entity. We recollect that Aragon, after the publication of the book, announced the following lines to the whole world: "I thank Milan Kundera for that book, I thank him for the books which he appears to have just finished, for the ones he is writing, or is going to write. Although I am not familiar with those works, I thank Milan Kundera once again for believing in man, in a world which I searched for and wanted with my entire soul." Subsequent to this, Milan Kundera's book was pulled out of libraries and, finally, he had to leave his country (although he says he has a Czech passport and can return), while Louis Aragon received the Lenin Award.

"What, you would like me to explain to you some things about this? I continuously ask the same question and understand nothing. It is difficult to understand that. No one understands.... I do not understand Aragon in particular. I recollect our first meeting in 1968 after the Soviet intervention and the tanks, precisely at the same time when he was writing the preface to my novel. I was fascinated by him. Meetings with him are very simple, because they are usually long monologs, of course, on his part. At that time he told me a number of things which were new for me, and as far as the intervention was concerned his position in defending Czechoslovakia was the most passionate of all French writers. I met him again here in 1975 and it was, of course, another long monolog. He told me about the Lenin Prize, speaking about all of this as if I were from England, Italy, as if my country, which he used to defend so passionately, no longer existed. Perhaps it was accidental, but my impression was that that Czechoslovakia of mine was now beginning to get in the way."

"Milan, I still have to ask you openly: Are you a dissident?"

"I am not a dissident and I do not like to see this term applied to artistic work. In any case, dissident is a political term."

"Well, all right, how do you interpret this term--dissident?"

"I think that there could be more than one interpretation of this term. At any rate, it is a question of the political position of someone who opposes some regime and, for example, it could be me as a citizen, why not? For a novelist, however, it is a term which simplifies the meaning, because one could not be a novelist-dissident, the same as one could not be a politician-cubist. Because, for example, my primary intention as a novelist is the willingness to understand others. And not only that: there is also a willingness to be ironical about myself. Even if the novel contained autobiographical moments, it is not for the purpose of defending myself, but rather for examining myself. The question of the novel for me has always been an activity which would like to comprehend the world in its

relativity, to understand truth with all of its difficulties, and any other interpretation is therefore in a certain sense a murder of my own will as a novelist."

Whom Is Kundera With?

"Do you see Solzenitsin, Vladimir Maksimovich...considering that you are in a similar situation?"

"No, I do not see them and do not need to. Yet, occasionally I feel a desire to see some of my friends who are in an approximately similar position, to become active in some fashion. But, a totally spontaneous resistance arises all of a sudden, saying: 'No, if you begin doing the same as they....' This is my personal moral problem: our fates are similar, but I am not one of them...."

"You are afraid that you might be misused in this respect, for political purposes?"

"I am very allergic to that, because this politicization of everything, all cultural goods--it is a true sickness today. Naturally, I am always against doctrineering which tends to dominate. For this reason in Prague I was frequently in opposition. That, however, was not political opposition, but the quite natural opposition of a writer. In the same way here I am opposing the counterdoctrine which would like to represent me as a political oppositionist. Of course, when defending ourselves against this, we are placed in a somewhat delicate situation. Because in this politicized world even a defense is immediately interpreted in a political way, so, they say: 'Well, all right, whom is he with? Whom is this Milan Kundera with?' It is very difficult to explain that I am, in fact, defending my novels. I am protecting them from simplifications, which are in the long run still fatal. The opposition of a novelist is something different from that of a politician. For this reason I would like to shout once and for all: 'I, as a writer, am merely defending the complexity of matters!' Because if one begins to explain what the novel is about from a political platform, the novel is then destroyed. Therefore, I hate the thought of that word--dissident...."

After this long and demolishingly open confession, which--it was obvious--brought him no relief, he looked straight into my eyes, deliberating for a long while, finally saying:

"You would not mind if I now ask you a question. You are from Yugoslavia and glad that it is different in your country, and you do not need to think about this, and after all you do not need or have to respond either. Yet, if you had been in my place, i.e., if you were a Czech who loves his country, where he is nonetheless not permitted to write and publish, while abroad in a friendly country he has the opportunity to work and expand his vision, while at the same time you do not wish to lose permanently the country which you love.... What would you have done?"



And, while parting, while Milan Kundera walks away in the great Paris night, the initial question arises once again on its own: Did we have a conversation with a dissident? Is Milan Kundera a dissident?

Yet, why did I so unwittingly and so poorly refuse the dinner invitation of this lonely man in a foreign country?

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CSO: 2800

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'RUDE PRAVO' ON CREDIBILITY OF CSSR MEAT CONSUMPTION STATISTICS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jun 78 p 2

[Commentary by Marcela Vanorna in the column "A Note:" "Uncritical  
Admiration"]

[Text] You can still meet the man on the street who is sincerely convinced that the annual statistical data published in other countries, above all Western countries, are better and more accurate than our data. One of the typical examples is the figures for annual per capita meat consumption. When talking with such a person you will, for instance, be told that we include "God knows what" in this figure while elsewhere they include just "real meat." When you ask him concretely how the figure for meat consumption in the CSSR statistics differs from foreign interpretations, he does not know. He does not even know how he arrived at his view and why he keeps repeating it. His answer to everything is that "it is clear."

He will be even more astonished when you ask him to try to define "meat." In statistical practice this is not at all easy, as can be confirmed by the FAO--the UN agricultural organization--which has been grappling with this problem for many years when compiling international surveys. For instance: Is blood contained in the live animal meat or is it waste product? How is the quantity of blood contained in smoked meat products to be dealt with? And so forth. According to the latest UN definition, even fat, which we do not include in our country, would be considered "meat."

How do we compile our statistics? We count the dead weight of the meat, which was acquired in halves, quarters or pieces. The composition according to type is as follows: beef, veal, pork, lamb, goat meat, horse meat, poultry, game, rabbit meat, meat of small animals (such as pigeons) and entrails.

Well, now the disbelieving man on the street can compare in detail--if he succeeds, however, in finding out what is hidden in the tidy Western statistics, perfect in form and attractively presented, what is behind the concept of meat consumption. But he should not forget one little thing: the average meat consumption in our country represents meat consumed by the overwhelming majority of the population. There are no sharp contrasts in consumption between the families of a miner, physician, hairdresser, teacher or veterinarian. The difference in meat consumption between the family of an unemployed person and, for example, Rockefeller's family is such that it completely distorts the exact calculation of the average. And this is what matters when judging the "truthfulness" of statistics.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPSL DAILY DISCUSSES THIS YEAR'S UNIVERSITY ADMISSION TESTS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Jun 78 p 3

[Article by Jaroslav Mesko in the column "Think With Us!" "Should We Accept All Who Apply? On the Threshold of University Admission Tests"]

[Summary] Every year at the time of university admission tests the public focuses its attention on this issue. One of our readers, a lawyer from Bratislava, also deals with this problem. "In his letter he voices the view that the Constitution guarantees the citizens of our country the universal right of education--including the highest education. He concludes that everyone who shows an interest and successfully completes his secondary education, thereby proving his ability, should be accepted for university-level studies. The qualitative selection, according to our reader, should be carried out in the course of the studies, based on the demonstrated knowledge and ability of the student. This allegedly would be more just, there would not be any nervousness and various negative phenomena connected with insuring success in university admission tests...."

The task of our universities is to satisfy our national economy's need for specialists. Not everybody realizes how much our society spends to train one university-educated specialist. The overall cost per student--taking into account that the average course of studies takes 5 years to complete--amounts to between Kcs 290,000 and Kcs 340,000 (including the costs of running the universities, room and board, and so forth, but excluding the loss in potentially created values during the time of studies, which represents an additional Kcs 200,000. Would it be wise--considering these costs--to accept every applicant?

At present 51,657 students study at the 13 Slovak university-level schools with their 41 faculties. In the number of students per 1,000 inhabitants we surpass such countries as the FRG, Italy, Great Britain, Austria and Belgium, by 1985, 59,000 are to take part in daytime studies in the Slovak Socialist Republic.

It is necessary to stress that the structure of studies will have to adjust to the needs of our economy: By the end of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, for instance, we will need 17,000 new engineers of various professions in Slovakia. Many parents and students are fortunately beginning to understand the social need and to orient their interests accordingly.

"One of the results of this change is the fact that almost 13,000 have applied for studies at Slovak colleges with a technical orientation and at the College of Economics, which will enable a better selection than in previous years. But at many places the old prejudices continue to survive, and many continue to stubbornly orient themselves toward fields of studies in excessive demand, such as medicine, law and philosophy, although very often they are applicants with very good qualifications for technical studies."

The consequence of such an orientation is that, in the Slovak Socialist Republic alone, 3,800 more have applied for university studies [universitni smery] than can be accepted. The number of applicants at the Kosice faculties of philosophy and medicine exceeds fourfold the capacity of this school, and the number of applicants for some faculties of the Bratislava College of Economy exceeds threefold the number of students that can be accepted.

The university admissions tests which are starting today will decide the acceptance of more than 12,000 applicants for studies in the first year of university-level schools. The tests are prepared in such a way as to insure the best possible quality of the accepted students. Decisive factors are the student's qualities in terms of his qualification and his civic and moral prerequisites. It is a democratic and demanding selection process whose purpose is to open to 13 percent of the pertinent population the road to university-level education.

CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### CSSR DAILY SCORES CARTER'S ANNAPOLIS SPEECH

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 22 Jun 78 p 2 AU

[Commentary by Pavel Sar: "Ominous Signs in Washington"]

[Text] The policy of detente has become the subject of intense contention in the United States. In speeches by American representatives it is becoming apparent how power groups influence the government and how unwilling they are to acknowledge the inevitability of this policy. This can be observed not only in Congress but also in addresses by the highest officials, including President Carter.

After the new administration assumed office in January 1977, the opponents of detente gradually began to mobilize, to exploit the traditional anti-Soviet moods in Congress and to abuse its particular sensitivity regarding military policy following the bitter defeat in Vietnam. They are feverishly propagating notions about "the growing military potential of the USSR" and "the Soviet threat."

Since the beginning of this year the American press has been writing openly about the differences of opinion within the American Administration and among the presidential advisers. It ensued from the commentaries that Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, Andrew Young, and the head of the U.S. delegation to the SALT deliberations, Paul Warnke, are more or less in favor of continuing the hitherto political line vis-a-vis the East. But, on the other hand, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown and Secretary of Energy James Schlesinger, who has a considerable say in questions of nuclear armament, influence the President in the spirit of the "Cold War." The result of these contrasting influences is the President's speeches, which are full of contradictions, speeches in which views recognizing the advantages for both sides of peaceful coexistence and mutual cooperation alternate with warlike rhetoric, even accompanied by demands having the character of ultimatums. We were able to witness this second, ominous aspect in two of his addresses

this year, the first of which was delivered on 16 March at Wake Forest University and the second on 7 June at the military [as published] academy in Annapolis.

The tone of the latter speech, in particular, was so aggressive that it surprised even observers of the political scene in the United States. A number of them noted that the President, in fact, delivered two speeches in one which were as different from each other as the concept of detente from "Cold War." The NEW YORK TIMES wrote of "the most bizarre episode in the President's administration." It was even noted that there was a conspicuous similarity with Winston Churchill's speech at Fulton in March 1946 when he sounded the call for a "crusade against communism."

Particularly provocative was that passage of his speech in which the President confronted the USSR with the choice of "either cooperation or confrontation," as if it were not known which path the USSR has been taking for a long time, and other statements in which he accused the Soviet Union not only of the development of the situation in Zaire and Ethiopia but even of the former events on the Korean Peninsula. Further cooperation with the USSR and Eastern Europe was even made contingent on "real self-determination and majority rule in those parts of the world...." This sounded unbelievable even to American ears, which are used to many things. The WASHINGTON POST noted that if Carter was serious then he surpassed former Secretary of State J.F. Dulles, who also wanted to "free Eastern Europe from the communist yoke." Some governmental advisers were greatly embarrassed by this insidious formulation and diplomatically explained it as "bad, very bad English."

But in the President's speech there are statements which were uttered without any ambiguity and cannot be considered to have been slips of the tongue. The President accused the USSR of "violating human rights," of "exporting revolution" and of "the development of the zaire events," with which he tried to link further progress of the talks on limiting strategic arms. The NEW YORK TIMES wrote that "the only serious issue in the world cannot depend on developments in this former colonial region; there is nothing more important than Salt." When the President enumerated the treaties and agreements concluded with the USSR in the last few years, he deleted two of the utmost importance: on averting nuclear war and on the principles of mutual relations. It seems that--in view of the general tone of his speech--this omission was not accidental.

If we recall that only in the last few weeks Congress adopted a military budget amounting to the record high of \$130 billion, that new military bases costing \$4 billion are to be built in various parts of the world, that the Senate Armed Services Committee is clearing the way for the production and deployment of the neutron weapon and that Secretary of Energy Schlesinger is decisively against a treaty with the USSR halting all kinds of nuclear tests, then we cannot but conclude that in Washington the forces that are getting the upper hand are those to whom the policy of further relaxing tension is sand between their teeth.

## EAST GERMANY

### RENEWED IMPORTANCE GIVEN TO ULBRICHT AS PARTY LEADER

#### Swiss Commentary

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 4 Jul 78 p 3

[Report by "sy" from Berlin: "Tributes to Ulbricht in the GDR." A translation of the East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND article referred to below follows this commentary]

[Text] The GDR's extensive tributes to Walter Ulbricht on the occasion of the 85th birthday of the late former State Council chairman and party boss have caused surprise. The party and state leadership, headed by SED General Secretary Honecker and Premier Stoph, in the presence of Ulbricht's widow, placed wreaths on the grave of the late politician, while an army guard of honor stood in ranks, saluting. The party paper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND had used this occasion of the birthday of the former party boss, hardly any longer mentioned in years, for a panegyric on his life. The paper acknowledges Ulbricht had led "a life of struggle for the cause of socialism," calls him an "important leader" and assures him of a "permanent place in the history of our party and our socialist state."

The political motives for the suddenly revived memory of Ulbricht cannot as yet be clearly assessed. The prominent and deliberate manner of the encomium leaves no doubt, however, that a fundamental change is involved. Not very long ago, the party leadership still tended to derogate Ulbricht's role. The official SED party history published in spring is in no way doing justice to his political leadership role between 1945 and 1971 and even admits, derogatorily, mistakes during his tenure. By that kind of an evaluation the party publication conformed to the custom practiced since Ulbricht's replacement in 1971, and his death 2 years later, to commit the formerly powerful party boss to oblivion. Enterprises and sports arenas, with few exceptions, would no longer be known by his name, and official reports would no longer mention him.

The reason for his rediscovery may be the attempt to make the GDR population conscious of its historic continuity. But recalling Ulbricht also underscores the GDR's close dependence on the Kremlin, which enjoyed his special loyalty.



Yet it would mean going too far, at least for the time being, to interpret the new Ulbricht tributes as a sign that influential groups are expressing criticism of the party leadership under General Secretary Honecker. Ulbricht's name is likely to be symbolic, from the communist vantage point, of a clearer ideological course. Honecker's attempts at a prosperity policy by means of western-currency socialism including the possibilities for purchasing western consumer goods in currency exchange countries increases doubts in functionaries to whom the contradictions between the party doctrine and lived reality are becoming apparent. But then, Honecker headed the dignitaries doing homage to the dead party leader. Having enjoyed, as "crown prince," Ulbricht's benevolence for many years, Honecker had every reason for demonstrating gratitude to his patron. That this is happening now can therefore also be seen as a sign of the SED General Secretary's secure power.

#### Article on Ulbricht's Life

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Jun 78 p 3

[Unattributed article: "A Life in the Struggle for the Cause of Socialism. On the 85th Birthday of Walter Ulbricht"]

[Text] Walter Ulbricht is one of the leaders of the workers movement who himself came out of the workers class. For more than six decades he loyally served the cause of socialism. As an active fighter and indefatigable worker he accompanied the revolutionary workers movement through several stages, both perilous and victorious ones. The first German workers and farmers state, the GDR, its political stability and progress on the road of socialism, are intimately connected with the Marxist-Leninist policy of the SED Central Committee, as the long time first secretary of which Walter Ulbricht earned lasting merits.

#### From a Class Conscious Workers' Family

Walter Ulbricht was born in Leipzig on 30 June 1893. He grew up in a class-conscious workers' family. His father, a tailor by trade, was a trade union functionary for many years. His mother knew socialist literature and helped her son gain insights the school did not give him. He received his youth consecration in 1907 and became an apprentice in cabinet-making. As early as then he joined the Socialist Workers Youth and the woodworkers' union. After spending one year on travel in several countries, in 1912, back in Leipzig, he joined the SPD.

When World War I broke out in 1914, Walter Ulbricht was among the revolutionary socialists who remained faithful to the ideas of Marx and Engels and the cause of the revolutionary workers movement. He followed the great example of Karl Liebknecht and, in the spirit of the Spartacus League, fought against the fateful war policy of German imperialism and militarism.

As a class conscious labor functionary, he enthusiastically committed himself to the Great Socialist October Revolution. He saw in it the crucial turning point. Since then, firm friendship with the party and country of Lenin became the determinant for all his thoughts and actions.

When imperialist Germany collapsed militarily in November 1918 and the workers and soldiers were rising, Walter Ulbricht worked on the workers' and soldiers' council in his hometown Leipzig. After the founding of the KPD in Berlin a KPD party organization also formed in Leipzig. Walter Ulbricht took part in setting it up and was elected to join the party organization executive in Leipzig.

The party assigned responsible tasks to him in the years that followed. He became a member of the KPD district executive for Central Germany and, in 1921, political secretary of the district organization for Greater Thuringia. In 1922, he was chosen delegate to the Fourth Comintern World Congress. He heard Lenin speak at the Congress in Moscow and met him as he was a member of the KPD delegation. Then he kept working in a responsible position at party headquarters and as the political secretary of the Berlin-Brandenburg district organization.

#### Reichstag Deputy of the KPD

In the mid-'20's the most reactionary forces of German imperialism appeared more and more on the scene. It all the more required for the KPD to be more strongly still developed as a party with action capability, pervaded with Lenin's doctrines and closely affiliated with the masses. That was the development undergone by the party under Ernst Thaelmann's leadership. Walter Ulbricht belonged to the collective of the most experienced and tested labor functionaries working successfully for reinforcing the party's fighting strength. He was a member of the Central Committee under Ernst Thaelmann. In 1926, he was chosen communist deputy to the Saxony Landtag, in 1928, to the Reichstag.

When the danger of fascist dictatorship arose, the KPD, on the decision by the Central Committee, developed the antifascist action group, a broad united front against fascism. Since the SPD leaders of the right stubbornly opposed it, only a start could be made with it. Walter Ulbricht, as the secretary of the Berlin-Brandenburg district organization, developed extensive activities on behalf of the united front between the workers class and all antifascist forces in order to prevent Nazi rule.

#### For the United Front Against Fascism

When the fascists had nonetheless seized power and established their terrorist rule, the KPD became the only organized force to continue the struggle. First Walter Ulbricht stayed in Germany and, on orders from the Central Committee, organized the party's illegal work. The Gestapo was looking for him and issued a warrant with his picture early in August 1933.

Party executive decision sent Walter Ulbricht abroad in October 1933, from where he would carry on his struggle against fascism.

The Seventh Comintern World Congress in 1935, in which Walter Ulbricht took part as a delegate, issued the task to create the united front of the workers class against fascism and the antifascist popular front. Based on the decisions of the Seventh World Congress, he together with Wilhelm Pieck, Wilhelm Florin and other comrades made an important contribution toward elaborating and practically implementing the united and popular front policies with regard to the antifascist struggle in Germany.

When fascist Germany's armies launched their surprise attack against the Soviet Union, Walter Ulbricht was in Moscow. Together with other Central Committee members who then also were in the Soviet Union, he then made great efforts in convincing the soldiers on the front and in the prisoner of war camps that Hitler's defeat would be certain and that the antifascist liberation struggle was the truly patriotic option.

A KPD Central Committee initiative set up the "Free Germany" National Committee in 1943. It was made up of antifascist emigrants and prisoners of war, officers and men. It was an example of the broad political and social composition of the fighting front the party was working to create. As a cofounder and organizer of the National Committee, Walter Ulbricht did extensive political work.

After our people had been liberated by the Soviet Army, a Central Committee decision sent him back to Germany together with other leading comrades. Even before war operations ceased, three initiative groups arrived from the Soviet Union to direct and support the communists and the other antifascists in the liberated areas. The group put to work in Berlin was under Walter Ulbricht's leadership. As an activist from the very start, he together with the communists and social democrats coming out of their illegality, and out of the concentration camps and penitentiaries, assisted by the Soviet Army, engaged in extensive political and organizational work. It was a hard beginning. The material and spiritual ruins German imperialism had left behind had to be cleared away, and a new life had to be built.

Only under the leadership by a unified revolutionary working class party could the road to socialism be taken successfully. Walter Ulbricht earned lasting merits in establishing the unity of the workers class, uniting the KPD and SPD into the SED. In subsequent years, with his great political experiences and with the initiative and energy characteristic of him, he played a crucial role within the party executive in developing the SED into a new type of party, in the antifascist-democratic transformation of what was then the Soviet zone of occupation, and in the genesis and growth of our GDR.

Walter Ulbricht was appointed to the highest party functions and exercised high government functions in the GDR. From 1950 to 1953, he was the general secretary, from 1953 to May 1971, the first secretary of our party's

Central Committee. In the GDR government, he held the function of the deputy and the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers from 1949 to 1960. In 1960, the People's Chamber chose him chairman of the Council of State of the GDR.

In all these functions he had a significant share in laying the foundations of socialism and in constructing the socialist society in our country. Great have been his distinctions in establishing and permanently consolidating the workers and farmers power, in its defense against any attacks by imperialism, and in the struggle for the strengthening of peace. He developed a special initiative in working out the first five-year plans, in the alliance policy with the working farmers and in the cooperation with the parties of the Democratic Bloc.

As a proven communist and internationalist, Walter Ulbricht also was highly respected in the international workers movement. As long ago as in the mid-'20's, he was temporarily an associate of the Comintern executive committee. From 1928 to 1943 he took part, as executive committee candidate, in the direction of the international communist movement. Later, in 1957, 1960 and 1969, he actively participated in the large international conferences of the communist and workers parties. He always then advocated consolidating the unity of the communist world movement and its uniting around the CPSU.

#### Permanent Place in the History of the Party

On 3 May 1971, at the 16th Central Committee session, Walter Ulbricht requested to be released from his function as first secretary. His age and his responsibility to the Central Committee, the whole party and the people, he announced, no longer allowed him to carry out so strenuous an activity. The time had come to place this function in younger hands. The SED Central Committee, by Politburo resolution, chose Erich Honecker as first secretary of the Central Committee. Walter Ulbricht, in recognition of his merits, was chosen SED Chairman.

On 1 August 1973, 80 years old, comrade Walter Ulbricht died. His combative life in the service to the workers class, peace and socialism had ended.

As an important leader of our party and of the workers class, and as a great proletarian revolutionary, Walter Ulbricht has a permanent place in the history of our party and of our socialist state.

5885

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

DEFENSE MINISTER SPEAKS AT BERLIN HUMBOLDT UNIVERSITY FORUM

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jun 78 p 2 AU

[ADN dispatch from Berlin: "Military-Political Forum at Humboldt University: Vivid Exchange of Ideas With Minister Heinz Hoffmann"]

[Text] On Wednesday Rector Prof Dr Helmut Klein, the Senat, section directors, members of the SED and FDY bezirk leaderships, as well as members of the faculty of the Berlin Humboldt University conducted a frank exchange of ideas on topical problems related to the SED's military policy with Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, Politburo member of the SED Central Committee and national defense minister.

Replying to numerous questions on the political and military-political situation, as well as the requirements resulting from this situation for the socialist national defense, Army General Hoffmann stressed: Socialism needs peace as an important condition for its existence and growth. Hence it is and remains the declared objective of the foreign, security and military policy of the states allied with the Soviet Union to reliably secure peace and to further reduce the dangers of a world war. "There is absolutely no economic, political or ideological interest in aggression for a socialist social system led by Marxism-Leninism. Hence these interests do not exist in our armed forces either," he pointed out. The Soviet Army and the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact are necessary for the one and only purpose of protecting the socialist states from imperialist attacks.

The international climate has changed in favor of peace and the peoples' security because, among other things, the power of the Soviet Union and of the socialist community of states has deprived imperialism of all its chances for success in Europe, and because the revolutionary main trends of our era have grown so powerfully and are shaking the foundations of capitalism. "The moral strength, the conviction in the justice of our cause, the fraternal unity of the people and army as well as the socialist

comradeship in arms between all armies of the Warsaw Pact also are contributing to this."

In this context the defense minister expressed appreciation for the successful development of cooperation between the National People's Army and the scientific institutions, particularly Humboldt University. To work for socialist national defense--as in any conscious act for socialism--a personal political decision, an ideological commitment and class-conscious research and teaching are necessary. This also is the decisive prerequisite for the military training of youth, as well as for a fruitful cooperation between socialist science and the socialist armed forces.

CSO: 2300

# GDR ROCK GROUPS ENDORSED BY SED

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 14 Jun 78 p 3

[Article by Peter Pragal, SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG editorial staff, datelined Berlin/GDR, 13 Jun: "The Socialist King of Prenzlauer Berg--While The SED Leadership Keeps a Tighter Rein on Other Sectors of Cultural Policy, Rock Music Is in the Greatest of Favor"]

[Text] They wear jeans, modish T-shirts and for the most part have a bent for long hair. They call themselves Gruppe Lift and Karat, City and Karussell, and make music in such an accomplished way that--as a youthful fan confesses--"sometimes when you listen to them you could die." Their records are in great demand between Stralsund and Karl-Marx-Strandt, and in the hit parade of Radio East Berlin they hold a firm place. Their efforts to achieve popularity, as GDR author H. P. Hofmann recognized in an investigation of the "VEB [State Enterprise] Song of the Time," assures the rock groups in the German workers' and farmers' state "the echo of millions of people."

The times are gone when people in the West could make fun of the "big-shot beat" between Elbe and Oder. After a phase during which the pop comrades from the socialist Germany limited themselves primarily to faithful imitation of Anglo-American models, the GDR rock groups in the meantime have gained an independent profile. Their merit, above all, consists of having discovered the German language for rock music. In the meantime, a West Berlin radio employee reports, a good many Western musicians are listening to GDR radio stations in order to learn "how, through one's own language, one can fit realistic everyday life in a rock number."

As a matter of fact, it is not only the intact socialist world which is being sung by the GDR bards, but frequently also the unvarnished present with its unsolved problems. The East Berlin group City (present hit: "The King of Prenzlauer Berg") is especially good at expressing the feeling for life of the young GDR generation and making use of their jargon. They talk about rocker types and adolescent brassing, alcoholism and flipping-out mentality. "The language," the East Berlin NEUE ZEIT lauded the City band, "is simple and understandable, just like the everyday speech of the young."

And: "Mountains of mail are evidence that the four musicians are on the right road."

Such tolerance towards a downright critical art is evidently based on the recognition that--as the GDR beat-dictionary puts it--"the satisfaction of existing legitimate needs must not be left to the class enemy." While the SED leadership in other areas of cultural policy at the moment is once again tightening the reins, the domestic pop and rock music is enjoying the highest patronage of all. In this way, the party officials hope, it is possible not only to counteract Western influences but also to have better chances to win the rebellion-prone young over to socialism. Says beat-book author Hofmann: "We are not giving up jazz, beat and folklore simply because the imperialist mass culture misuses them to manipulate the ability to make aesthetic judgments."

To be sure, 15 or 20 years ago, the ruling German communists thought quite differently about this subject. At that time, beat and rock music were regarded as an expression of "imperialist decadence and lack of culture." True, even at that time nobody could effectively prevent the fans from listening to Western radio stations or secretly recording their favorite titles on tape. But for GDR dance bands and for Radio East Berlin, such music, with few exceptions, was taboo. A good many young people who traveled to Prague or Warsaw in order to purchase "hot" Western records there, upon their return, got into trouble with their customs at home. "That sort of thing," a GDR citizens recalls, "was possible at that time only by subterfuge."

#### Breakthrough in 1973

It did not escape SED comrades, however, that the party alienated the young generation further with this rigid stance. Evidently in order not to lose more influence the "Youth Studio DT 64" was founded on GDR radio in 1964, on the occasion of the "Germany Meeting" of the Free German Youth (FDJ). In spite of the great response to the young, however, the program remained controversial. Dogmatic critics ("it will not do for our youth studio to arrange its program around beat and Play-Bach") make life rough for the music editors during the following years and again and again narrowed the latitude. Pastmaster Paul Dessau lent a helping hand to the harrassed. "If they want to get rid of beat music, they must counteract it with something that is better," he declared and added: "I wish I could compose something like that."

The breakthrough came in 1973 with the Tenth World Festival in East Berlin. In view of the encounter with many thousands of foreigners, an official working in the field of culture surmises today that "they evidently did not want to see our people standing around looking stupid." In addition to productions with domestic rock groups, the "VEB German Records" suddenly also turned out recordings by the Les Humphries Singers, Middle of the Road and Jimi Hendrix. In many GDR cities, new beat bands formed and television



and the film industry, too, discovered the advantages of rock music. Looking back, a GDR citizen expressed the opinion: "It got going like a landslide."

For the party ideologists, so it seemed, it was not so simple at all to justify this change politically. How were they to declare as admissible, stimulating and possibly valuable something which, a few years ago, had still been strictly forbidden? The SED dialecticians, however, were resourceful and without hesitation divided the Western beat music into two groups: on the one hand, they said, there are "progressive" artists and groups, on the other, formations "which openly or in a concealed manner are linked with the ideology of imperialism." According to this presentation, the people's beat music, of course, marches at the head of the movement. For: "The feeling and knowledge of being used has obviously strengthened the desire for simplicity rooted in their national soil and for intelligibility."

In the meantime, the socialist cultural bureaucracy does not even shun a direct East-West comparison. In addition to pop singers like Katja Ebstein, Roy Black, and Udo Jurgens, it has also invited West German rock bands like the "Beatles Revival Band" to give guest performances in the GDR. On the other hand, Eastern rock groups are permitted to favor Western beat music fans with live performances. The groups City and Karat belong to the travel cadres just as much as the ensemble "Wir [We]" and the show-experienced Puhdys. In addition to the business in hard currency, a little politics is, of course, involved. In the opinion of GDR rock theoretician Hofmann, the class struggle at any rate does not make a bend around music. Hofmann: "In beat music, too, there is no ideological coexistence."

8970

CSO: 2300

## HUNGARY

### PROBLEMS IN POPULARIZING LITERATURE, CULTURE ABROAD

Budapest KORTARS in Hungarian No 3, Mar 78 pp 444-449

[Interview with Vera Acs, chief of International Main Department, Office for the Protection of Copyrights, and with Mrs. Istvan Revesz, chief of the Department of Literature of the same office, by Matyas Domokos: "Export of Our Literature"]

[Text]

[Question:] At the beginning of the forties the MAGYAR CSILLAG organized a debate with the title: "Our Reputation in the World." The debate has been continuing since then, and its purpose remained unchanged: to confront, without illusions, the picture the world has formed about us, and to try to change the sometimes unflattering image by "presenting our true assets," to quote the program Gyula Illyes set forth at that time. This debate and self-examination is especially relevant in the seventies, because the possibilities of and the need for exchanges of intellectual values are the subject of so many discussions and resolutions all over the world. The difficulties, not just intellectual ones, faced by the literature of national cultures, especially small linguistic communities, are discussed lot less often. Part of the difficulties, in fact the most important part, is due to the fact that a book is an intellectual product which is, at the same time, merchandise, as soon as the message about Hungarian life contained in it is to be put in the hands of French, English, Russian, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese or other readers. These practical problems in the export of Hungarian literature are seldom discussed, although they must also be faced without illusions and preconceptions. There are some unfavorable experiences in this regard which do not imply an esthetic judgment of Hungarian literature, but reveal qualities which determine its export potential. These possibilities and problems should perhaps be discussed, for once, with those who are professionals in this field: this is why this interview centered on the accumulated experiences in the popularization of Hungarian literature abroad was set up with Vera Acs, chief of the International Main Department, and Mrs. Istvan Revesz, chief of the Department of Literature, both at the Office for the Protection of Copyrights. In a couple of sentences, could you define the purpose

and task of the Office for the Protection of Copyrights? Also, please state how long you have been doing this work.

[Vera Acs:] The International Main Department of the Office for the Protection of Copyrights is functioning abroad under the name ARTISJUS as a literary, theatrical and musical agency. It is a pity that our role as an agency is much better known abroad than at home, where we are still regarded as an "office." The task of this office, or agency, for the sake of consistency, is basically the promotion and realization of Hungarian literature abroad, signing of contracts, which naturally includes, in addition to works of fiction, such fields as theater, drama and music. We will not talk about these areas, or about the fact that contracts regarding the publication in Hungary of foreign literary works are also handled by the same Main Department. I, personally, have been working in this Main Department for more than 17 years; in fact, I just celebrated my 17th anniversary on this job a few days ago.

[Mrs Istvan Revesz:] I have worked in the Department of Literature for ten years. The name of the department and my job title have changed from time to time, but the nature and purpose of the job has always remained the same.

[Question:] The name does not matter; as they say, the office also has two names and two business cards. What is important is the work performed by the department: the popularization of Hungarian literature abroad. People in general hate numbers; but we cannot get a realistic idea of this job and the activities of the agency without giving a couple of numbers. Could you say, approximately, how many contracts were handled and books were sold abroad in all the years the Office for the Protection of Copyrights has been in existence?

[Mrs Istvan Revesz:] First we have to mention that the Office for the Protection of Copyrights has been in existence for 25 years (we will soon celebrate our anniversary), but we -- not deal with the popularization of Hungarian literature abroad for the full 25 years. We started to do this only in 1960, so the data apply to this period only. Since 1961 we concluded 2821 contracts regarding foreign publication of Hungarian works, two thirds of this with socialist countries and one third with publishers from other countries. We do not keep a count of the number of books sent abroad, so I can only give approximate figures. Since most foreign publications materialize only after several attempts, by assuming an average of ten books sent out for each contract we arrive at a minimum of 28,210 books sent abroad. This number, however, does not include those cases when we are unable to conclude a contract, so the number is in fact much higher, and the assumption of ten books sent out for each contract is also unrealistic in many cases, because there have been occasions where the three or four contracts obtained for an exceptionally good book were preceded by 60 or 70 copies sent out.

[Question:] Vera Acs mentioned that the balance sheet of the export of Hungarian intellectual products cannot be drawn without including theatrical works, music and the constantly increasing export of Hungarian technical and scientific literature. We are now consciously limiting ourselves to Hungarian fiction. Within these numbers, what is the percentage of fictional works? Were all of the 2821 works of a fictional nature?

[Mrs Istvan Revesz:] No. We concluded 1675 contracts for literary works. The ratio is the same with respect to socialist countries and to others.

[Question:] Does this mean the same number of books?

[Mrs Istvan Revesz:] No. This means 1,675 contracts, but naturally there are some books with contracts in several languages, or the same language but different editions, so it reflects the number of contracts, not the number of books.

[Question:] Of course, this is not a problem and does not detract from the reputation of Hungarian intellectual life if a work spreads the name of its author to several countries, such as if a book by Illyes, a novel by Dery, or Laszlo Nemeth, etc., appears in several languages and in several countries.

[Vera Acs:] On the contrary. This is distinctively useful, since we often talk about the factors affecting the presence of Hungarian literature in the world, both in the press and elsewhere. I think that publication of a book in one language only does not translate into a presence. Only the translation of many Hungarian books and the existence of books published in many editions and several languages can be considered as real accomplishments. This is the basis of a true presence which deserves attention.

[Question:] In literary thought abroad, which from the viewpoint of the job of the main department also means commercial thinking, the order of association is reversed: in the mind of a German, English, American or French publisher the name of one or more individual Hungarian writers are associated with the concept of Hungarian literature. Tibor Dery? Yes, he is a Hungarian writer. We think in reverse terms, because we treat and evaluate these same writers individually as parts of Hungarian literature. You spend a lot of time abroad, and negotiate with many agencies and publishers: in your opinion, compared to the presence of the literature of other small nations, can we be satisfied with this presence? Or are we lagging behind?

[Vera Acs:] You must excuse me, but I do not like this question. I do not like to compare the presence of Hungarian literature with the presence of the literature of other small nations. I compare it with itself. I

feel that the presence of Hungarian literature is insufficient relative to its own merits. In other words, in our opinion Hungarian literature is a lot better than its presence in the literary thinking of foreign countries or the number of translations would indicate. We do not care too much where Hungarian literature stands relative to Danish, Swedish or, say, Norwegian literature. If we start comparing, maybe we are not doing that bad after all.

[Question:] I am very pleased with this answer, because professionals in this area should not pacify their intellectual conscience with comparisons; they should try to send more of what they love and communicate out into the world. But I asked the question on purpose, because I am curious as are others, I suppose, what the demands faced by those carrying out this mission are. (Because you must call it that, however strange that word seems with reference to an obviously commercial transaction, but that is what it is, according to its purpose)? What do they expect from us abroad? In your experience what do they expect in the various countries from Hungarian literature? What do they ask for? What would they like?

[Vera Acs:] We must distinguish between socialist and capitalist countries, and also discuss it country by country, and also from the standpoint of the distinction between serious and important publishers and those who are only following the trends of the day and are looking only for specialties and peculiarities. We find that the really good, serious and solid publishers are looking for works on today's Hungarian reality. They are interested in what happens in our country, the way we live and the problems we have. When we talk of Hungarian literature, they emphasize that they are looking for themes of the present, something interesting that presents something new for the foreign reader, something they have not heard about. This of course does not mean that we do not get requests for, say, "woman writers," or novels "about women," love stories, adventures, and very specialized subjects like "dog stories" or a short story about the Danube (there was one of those), etc. There are also some very special requests, but, to be honest, we do not always deal with those.

[Mrs Istvan Revesz:] Let me add what hurts us the most: the lack of interest in short stories, and also poetry, in most countries. This indifference is troubling in view of our excellent short stories and poetry, but we must accept the fact that publishers are looking mostly for novels.

[Question:] This is understandable because the things foreigners are interested in, according to Vera Acs, when they read a Hungarian book, are best revealed and described in a novel. In fact, abroad they want exactly what the more demanding readers want here at home. The extent, quantity and quality of our ability to satisfy this demand does not

depend on the Office for the Protection of Copyrights; it is a task of Hungarian literature. But you mentioned some strange and peculiar requests: would you mind giving some examples of requests which perhaps sounded impossible, but give an idea of the difficulties and nature of your job?

[Vera Acs:] When I hear the word "impossible," then I always have to think that what is really impossible is our inability to accomplish better results thus far with a literature which is as significant as ours. In some ways we are constantly trying to find a way to reach those really interested and satisfy their true needs.

[Question:] So far we have discussed mostly the destination without talking about how to get there. This would interest everyone, since very few people have direct experience with the process of selling a book. What kind of process is involved here? How long does it take? How long it takes for an agreement to materialize and in a given situation for the interest in a Hungarian book to be transformed into a book for the international market?

[Mrs Istvan Revesz:] Sometimes it takes longer than expected, and in other cases it happens quite rapidly, I am pleased to say. Let us first say a few words about the work involved. First of all, we naturally survey the supply, to use an ugly marketing word, i.e., we monitor newly published Hungarian books and their critical reception. After their reading, we prepare the necessary propaganda materials in four international languages. There are many methods and formats used. Some are descriptions of a single work, or in some cases we try to present the entire output of an author; we also prepare bulletins and flyers describing important works of a certain period or subject matter. These materials are intended to make the work of foreign publishers easier, because, we are sorry to say, not all of them have editors who speak Hungarian. So this is the period of preparation. In addition, we are constantly monitoring the intended market, because at the time of the publication of a new book we must know where the publisher most likely to show interest in that particular book is to be found. The profiles and tastes of publishers are all different. We must know the series they publish, etc., since all of these factors have an effect on our possibilities. When these preparatory procedures are complete, we may try to send out some [advance] copies both to the publisher and to the translator, in the majority of cases. In our work, the role of translators is very important, especially those living abroad and able to help our recommendations. I might also mention that we are not the only ones who recommend Hungarian works for publication; those who are connected with literature in some way and have meetings or conversations with foreign publishers or representatives of the culture of foreign countries do likewise. At such occasions there is always some talk about Hungarian literature. We feel and we find that such occasions are very conducive to increasing the popularity of Hungarian literature, over and above the

propaganda opportunities that we might have. We are very pleased with this and it is very helpful in our work. But, to return to our job: the books are sent by mail and are accompanied by a letter, but face-to-face meetings are also very important with regard to recommendations. These take place at the various international book fairs and during other business trips when we visit the publishers and restate what has been written earlier; if necessary, we argue, listen to their opinions and criticisms. Of course visits by representatives and translators working for foreign publishers are also very important. On such occasions they meet representatives of ARTISJUS and, in addition, meet Hungarian publishers and writers. The question regarding the time it takes to sell a Hungarian book is difficult, if not impossible, to answer. There have been cases when a book was sold in four linguistic areas within a month, but this was a rare and fortunate exception which is very far from the rule. Sometimes it takes several years to be able to get a good and valuable book published in four or five languages. Also, we have to wait years from the time of the signing of the contract to actual publication. I must also add that the first presentations are limited to certain linguistic areas, because in some countries they will not be interested in a Hungarian book even on the basis of our propaganda materials. In these countries we must wait until the book in question becomes accessible in some foreign language.

[Question:] In some intermediary language?

[Mrs Istvan Revesz:] Yes, in an international intermediary language. Thus, in these countries we can present our recommendations only after a long delay, these are the so-called secondary reference areas. Until recently the Scandinavian countries and parts of the Spanish, Portuguese and English language areas belonged to this category. The translation, however, is done from the Hungarian original, and not from an intermediary language.

[Vera Acs:] I have two things to say in this connection. First, we must picture this a constantly changing process. For example, let us consider a work by a certain author which we have been trying to place for a certain period, but we are unsuccessful. Then the author publishes another book which arouses some interest, and this may result in sudden success for earlier works, and we may be able to place these with the same publisher who bought the latest book.

[Mrs Istvan Revesz:] Usually despite the fact that these had been rejected by him earlier.

[Vera Acs:] This is true, there have been such examples. The other area where I would like to make a distinction in the strongest terms is between the practice of socialist and non-socialist countries. In socialist countries the large important publishers all have Hungarian editors. Just as in our country, books are selected by knowledgeable

people who are surveying the entire [body of] Hungarian literature, and they are published in a systematic and continuous fashion.

[Question:] If we were to open a history of German, English or French literature, note the names of the authors considered by those histories the most important writers, jot down the list of their most important works, then go to any Hungarian bookshop or the Szechenyi Library, we would be able to find the great majority of those writers and works in Hungarian translations. This is because Hungarian book publishing houses present a panorama of the great national [bodies of] literature within the framework of an integrated public education program based on intellectual considerations of literary history. To expect the reverse, especially on the part of non-socialist countries, would be utopian, since they do not exchange their intellectual assets even among themselves with anything like the completeness and regularity that we aim at. There are also many non-literary criteria which determine what they publish abroad from us or from one another.

[Vera Acs:] It may be utopian, but we still would like to expect something in return for all that we do to present foreign literature in our country. We never fail to emphasize abroad how much more we are publishing in Hungary, and how unfair and unjust the publication of Hungarian literature abroad is, - naturally, I do not include the socialist countries in this, only the Western capitalist ones. On our travels we often use statistical data to demonstrate what Hungary is doing for the popularization of foreign literature, and I must say that the statistical data of the Hungarian publishing industry always meet with great praise; of course, praise does not always mean reciprocation in practice.

[Question:] We can all agree about that. But there is another problem here which should be discussed for the sake of clarity. We find that the recommendations of ARTISJUS carry some weight in the world, i.e., if they say a certain Hungarian novel is worth considering then foreign publishers believe them. It does not directly follow, however, that the book will be bought and published immediately. As a matter of fact, we must weigh the possibility of a "double sale," i.e., we must sell something that the buyer will be able to sell later. Here, however, we find two economic structures and two spheres of ideology and public philosophy relating to one another; it is not much easier than linking up two spaceships, especially when they are constructed according to different mechanical principles. This is the source of many difficulties which are not really literary or intellectual in character, thus, this becomes one more reason why a nation cannot measure its own literary self-esteem by mere statistics related to the export of its literature, just as the intensity of the effort by ARTISJUS cannot be measured by its practical achievement.



[Vera Acs:] You are quite right in this, there are indeed a great many unpredictable factors which affect our work. Let me just mention one of them. In the last four to five years there has been a noticeable lack of interest in fiction and poetry. People simply have not bought or read fiction. So, naturally, foreign publishers have been turning towards non-fictional works, and even very respected literary publishers were trying to publish volumes and start series which were not definitely of a literary character; instead, they represented interesting experiments in areas of sociology, documentation and non-fiction in general.

[Question:] So, they were not really turning away from Hungarian literature...

[Vera Acs:] Of course not, [but] from the literary form in general. Then, at the 1977 International Book Fair in Frankfurt we were pleased to find some renewed interest in fiction. As a rule, this begins by more domestic fiction being published. In the FRG, more German authors are published, in France more French ones, etc., and after a while (we think we are just getting to this point) interest in foreign literature, including ours, starts increasing. Of course, countries and traditions of translation are all different. In Britain, for example, they do not translate Hungarian literature or any other literature, for that matter; in fact, they translate less than anybody else. This is why the presence of Hungarian literature in Britain is a lot less prominent than in the FRG, say, where the traditions for translating are greater.

[Question:] So you think that we can hope for a more favorable climate in the future? But what can we build on while we are waiting for a more favorable climate, what contacts do we have?

[Mrs Istvan Revesz:] Our contacts are quite extensive. Of course they are not all equally promising. If you are interested in numerical data: we have contacts with 1,558 publishers and 549 translators in 52 countries. Of course not all of those relationships are permanent and their intensity varies with the interest shown by the other side. Some have already shifted to increasing literary publications and some are still more interested in non-fictional works; some firms have economic difficulties, etc. Interest is affected by factors such as these.

[Vera Acs:] By the way, these numbers may also serve as a reference point to decide what the number of Hungarian books to be published is to enable us to answer the question relating to the adequacy of our unconditional affirmative presence.

[Question:] In conclusion, let me ask a personal question. All jobs and professions involve a vision in one's spirit, which enables us to go on doing our job despite daily failures and frustrating moments. What is it in the case of the workers of ARTISJUS?

[Vera Acs:] For me there are no failures in our job. The work is always successful, although the extent of that success may be less than we would like.

[Mrs Istvan Revesz:] Every work sold is a great personal pleasure to us. Numbers are not that important. The main thing is that another Hungarian work is being published abroad, so the work is worth continuing. We wish that others might also take pleasure in these accomplishments. We try to work with all our strength to achieve the number of successes we would like.

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HUNGARY

BORBELY URGES BETTER UTILIZATION OF ECONOMIC RESERVES

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Jun 78 p 7

[A speech by Sandor Borbely: "Better Use of The Reserves of The Economy: The 17th Congress of the Economists Opens."]

[Text] The 17th congress of economists opened yesterday at Byor. The discussion is chaired by Bela Csikos-Nagy, deputy minister and the president of the Hungarian Society of Economists. The opening was attended by Ferencs Trethon, Minister of Labor, Mrs. Janos Keseru, Minister of Light Industry, and representatives of several state authorities. The opening remarks were made by Bela Hary, First Secretary of the Gyor-Sopron County MSzMP party committee. The opening speech was made by Sandor Borbely, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the MSzMP.

Dear Comrades! Honored Economic Congress!

It is my mission to greet the 17th congress of the economists in the name of the MSzMP CC and wish it successful debates. The leading body of the party asks and expects of you to find, as a result of fruitful discussions, better solutions than before to the urgent tasks of socialist construction.

It is an honor for me to give the greetings of the CC but this is actually a hallmark of the work done by [you] comrades. It indisputably confers the rank that the Congress, which is already a tradition, has earned in our public scientific life.

It is also a proof of our party's confidence in our economists, who are leaders working in key positions in the economy. This trust should strengthen your sense of security and give political and moral encouragement in your present discussion and, after the congress, when you return to the laboratories of science and continue your responsible activities in the commanding posts of economic life.

In The Assigned Direction

A special significance is attached to this congress by the fact that a month and a half ago the CC prepared the balance of the progress since the 11th

[Party] Congress and outlined the most important tasks of the coming period. In the mirror of realities, the CC could say, with justification that the resolution of the congress stood the test of time among the storms of the world economy of the last three years. The correctness of our designated goals was proven by life. Therefore it is the justified demand of our whole society to continue on the designated road. The CC paid respects to the creative activity of our working people and our efforts in the past that earned us respectable results in the work of socialist construction. These successes form the base in the world for the respect our country enjoys, the Hungarian People's Republic. Still, now, at the beginning of the discussions, I want to direct your attention to the critical and self-critical passages of the CC--this should give encouragement to you, too.

The April session of the CC used a strict yard-stick and even so they could say, with justification, that production grew to a satisfactory extent. Living standards increased accordingly and it became possible to act on several central wage and socio-political questions which had been problems earlier. These acts were also made possible by the circumstance that our foreign trade became more active. We moved from dead center in such key aspects as economic effectiveness and the modernization of production of production structure.

However, in light of possibilities, the CC concluded that in spite of all our efforts we have not been able to form processes that give lasting help to a more effective development of the economy.

The main point is that the economy's balance has not improved to the planned extent. We are able to expand our production bases and consumption only by significantly increased imports. Our concerns are heightened by the fact that in this same time period our exports earned less than planned.

You know very well that a general turn is needed at all points of the economy for the better use of our material and intellectual resources. It is time for a "higher rpm" in this area. The economists' congress can help us in this.

#### The Points of Tension

The accumulation picture of the economy is not quieting either even though it significantly exceeds the planned amount in monetary value.

Our analyses show that the capacities do not increase linearly and thus we can't speak of an evenness. This is how a tension develops at several points of the economy and we progress amidst difficulties that have not been designed. These troubles are especially visible in the balancing of the economy and international trade.

Undoubtedly, there are changes in the internal and external conditions in which our economy operates but we can't count on an easing of our situation. I regard it my duty to emphasize that we don't face a temporary problem but a series of economic factors that will be valid for a long time yet.

This is one of the reasons why I think the subject of the economists' congress has been chosen well: it decided to debate the use of reserves in the progress of our economy. I think, however, that the public has an oversimplified picture of the word "reserves": many think of an opportunity that lies unused due to carelessness or lack of foresight. This view says the reserve is on the surface and can be used only once. Fortunately, the subjects of your sections' themes do not reflect this "one minute" thinking. You, correctly and realistically, define reserves as present in our attitudes and economy as a pattern. Your conclusion is also correct: going in ever deeper from the surface, it is our duty to explore for effectiveness of social production and, I may add, not only in economy but in all areas of our life!

#### For a Quicker Selection

The speaker then spoke on the necessity to restructure the production structure. He continues: "Rationality dictates to count more on domestic resources in this area also. Thus, our developments will enjoy the most complete variations. Our yardstick shall be the international level.

We need to select more forcefully when it comes to investment decisions. In this respect, I note a strange situation: everybody generally agrees with this principle yet in practice they don't follow it. I think this is due to anxiety on the part of many people. I speak of those who are concerned for the man-centered practice of our politics. Let us not use cosmetics on our situation: we should discontinue non-economic activities strictly, without emotionalism. I am convinced that these moves are not in opposition with our basic view: socialist humanism. We act for the good of society and, as before, will continue to strive for the progress of all men of good will and honesty when they exert themselves for the benefit of the larger community and themselves. No one should be afraid for the fate of a single working man!

You know very well that we are often forced to choose from even among the advantageous propositions because we simply have no means to do them all at the same time. It also happens that we have to stop even a competitive activity if a more important activity forces the choice on us. The explanation is that our money, tools, and labor must be devoted to those tasks that bring the highest profit to the economy. We have to face the facts with every development goal whether approved previously, or just projected. The one that don't pass muster must be foregone.

## The Price of Development

Speaking of reserves, I think we must find a rational answer to the question of price that we pay for development. I am convinced that the most profit can be found in investment, in the ratio of labor vs. capital. We know for a fact that in several brotherly socialist countries the productivity is half again as high as it is here--and in the developed capitalist countries it is 2-2-1/2 times higher. There is no point in using cosmetics over the facts: the actual use of work-time base, intensity, and organization continue to be our weak points. Looking ahead for the long term we don't see more working people in this country.

These questions will show their real import when the less-effective production is cut out. We keep hoping for that day.

Of course, we can help this change by other than central means. Our companies have shortages as well as reserves of labor. The excess appears randomly; it is mostly built into the economic processes and can be found only after thorough inspections at the companies.

Another reserve can be found in the strengthening of supply and cooperative connections between the companies. Late and unreliable deliveries hinder the end-producers in the merciless competition of the world market. The solution is obvious: let us do everything for the proper awareness of delivery discipline. This is all the more important because we have large losses every year due to our violations of export contracts.

## Investments, Guidance

I don't have to emphasize to this group that expanded production and our whole development policy is among the reserves. Fortunately, lately the large investments increased their pace; good preparation is seen more often. Still, we can't be satisfied because, although we have long known that our investment resources are limited, we often act as if this was not the case. We start a lot of things at the same time and thus we, ourselves, produce a constant tension between the demand and the production capacity. This is why it happens that the number of investments is high. These not only tie down money but contribute to moral wear and also brake technical development. We fall behind our competitors when the time span of an investment is unreasonably longer here than elsewhere.

We often ask these days if there is a way out of our problems in the foreseeable future? I am wholly convinced that there is a solution: the development of profitable production and our socialist construction must become a mass movement. This congress discusses now the subject as it applies within the companies. I feel I must emphasize that it is necessary to act in this spirit not only at those companies where self-regulation and initiative founder if it does not get support and incentive from central guiding. It is obvious that it is also the duty of the governing bodies

to face the regulations, economic conditions, and the technical development policies with the same critical eye they recommended to the companies.

Thus, we need the total harmony of wills coming from two directions. Nothing will be solved if the company keeps pointing upwards and central guiding organs point downward. Everyone should do their duty and then we will be over the hard part of today's problems!

Consistency Worthy of Science

Dear Comrades!

At the 11th Party Congress Comrade Janos Kadar emphasized, in the name of the CC: "There are no areas of our social life that do not depend on the results of production and constructive work. The increase in living standards, the development of culture and science, the total socialist progress of our country must be based on economic, constructive work."

As you well know there are quite a lot of urgent tasks, stressful problems, and faults in our work. No one asks you to gloss over them. The expectation toward the debates is just the opposite: they should face our situation, the realities of life, and the opportunities with consistency worthy of science. They should attempt to help the realization of our historical goals with solutions that are better than today's. To this attempt, I wish, from my heart, success to all participants of the 17th Congress of the economists"--finished Sandor Borbely.

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## HUNGARY

### ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS INSTITUTE DESCRIBED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 May 78 p 5

[Article by Jozsef Szasz: "Villa on Berc Street"]

[Text] The villa that is shared as "joint tenants" by the chief consulate section of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry and by the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Institute hides almost inconspicuously among the opulent gardens and newly-built attractive red brick town houses of Gellert Hill.

[Answer] "Our institute was established six years ago. Hence we are still in the 'breaking-in' stage," says director Gyula Gyovai. "In Europe, including the socialist countries, foreign affairs institutions have been functioning for decades, with a larger staff than ours, and with a wider range of interest. Earlier, the work that is now our task, has been performed by various institutes of the Academy, and the universities. But only partially, for none of them had foreign policy as its specific area of interest. This was so even though it became ever more necessary on the one hand to correlate research on foreign affairs performed in the many centers of scholarly research, and on the other, to aid the planning of foreign affairs activity through scientific analysis.

#### Within the European Circuit

The director reveals that they work with a relatively small number [of experts]: the staff consists of 35 members. Somewhat less than half of these are scientific researchers; the others are the auxiliary personnel who assist scholarly research.

The institute, which belongs under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has three sections: the section responsible for the study of European problems (including U.S. and Canadian policy in Europe), the section examining the theoretical questions of international relations, and the section that studies China and various regions of the developing countries. The editorial office of the quarterly Kulpolitika [Foreign Affairs] form a separate entity within the framework of the institute.



"Since our opportunities are limited," continues the director, "we deal primarily with the problems of the European continent. We analyze intra-European relations and cooperation, questions of European security, as well as short-range and long-range factors that are of decisive nature within European politics."

Gyula Gyovai explains that the current work-schedule of the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Institute, which is based on a basic five-year plan, includes the completion of one large research project, as well as several small publications by each researcher. This, however, constitutes only part of the work at the institute.

[Answer] "From the very beginning we became part of the 'European circuit,' that is, we established good scholarly contact with similar types of institutes in most European (and non-European) countries. As an example, only a few days ago we were visited by Professor Max Schmidt, the director of East Germany's Institute of International Politics and Economy, and we signed an agreement of cooperation for several years. We are in close cooperation and in relations of partnership with several academic research institutes in the Soviet Union -- where scholarly specialization is much more extensive. We have good cooperation with the Polish, Czechoslovak and Bulgarian sister institutions, but also with the Finnish, the Austrian and the West German institutes. The foreign affairs institutes of the socialist countries also conduct joint research for the analysis of certain current foreign affairs topics -- such as the question of European detente."

[Question] I have learned from Gyula Gyovai that the institute organizes roundtable conferences regularly. Last November they held the first English-Hungarian roundtable conference on international detente, European cooperation and questions of Hungarian-English relations at Siklos. This year, the second Soviet-Hungarian and third Canadian-Hungarian bilateral conference will take place.

They frequently hold debates on completed studies, with the participation of scientific researchers from other institutes. The institute is happy to serve as a forum for the lectures of foreign politicians, statesmen, and scholarly researchers who visit Hungary. The director cites the examples of Willy Brandt, and of professors such as the Swedish Alva Myrdal, the Soviet Istraelyan, the French Devillers and the American Zinner.

We discuss with Jozsef Balazs, the head of the academic section on theoretical questions, the theoretical problems that may arise in practical international relations.

Who Understands What Under Detente?

[Answer] "Nowdays, international events make the examination of such questions as what exactly is meant by detente and by peaceful coexistence, a necessity. In short, I would say that the main research territory of

our section is the regional and global meaning of detente. What does the other party mean by detente? It is generally known that today they do not simply disregard detente even in the West. But they interpret it is a special way. They would like to use it for the preservation of the political and social status quo. We have to see clearly how the more important countries view detente. From our investigations in this connection we attempt to draw conclusions also concerning the possible scope of action of Hungarian foreign policy within the international relations of relaxation."

[Question] Let me raise that very practical question: In what do you see the social significance of the institute?

[Answer] "In various things. First of all, this is the only institute in Hungary that examines international relations from the point of view of the formation and impact of the totality of political, security and ideological factors. Secondly, the institute aids in the realization of the maintenance of such international relations concerning foreign affairs that would not fit into the profile of either the party or the state organs. Thirdly, with our publications and lectures we support our country's propaganda work, and we try to popularize our foreign policy abroad. Fourth, we provide a home for a new branch of knowledge, namely political science, and therein to the theoretical research of international relations. Finally, as an example, our scientific researchers participated actively -- not as diplomats, but as experts -- in the preparatory work and in the completion of the European security conference."

#### The Blank Spots of Research

[Question] Barna Talas, deputy director and head of the section dealing with developing countries, is one of our country's best-known China experts. At the present, we are speaking not about his field of expertise, but about the perspectives of development, and about the problems. He tells us that when the institute was established in 1972, it was difficult to fill the existing posts. Today, on the other hand, they feel that the framework that has been unchanged since, is too limited.

[Answer] "Let me cite the example of my own section. We lack researchers on Africa, Latin America, and on the movement of the non-aligned countries. But I can say that even about the European section: there are territorial "blank spots" both in regard to capitalist and socialist relations. This is where we have the greatest need for further development. There are problems in the area of documentary work, and in bringing out publications. Nor do we fare too well in regard to space. Our main problem, however, is the lack of cadres. Similar institutes in socialist countries work with significantly greater number of personnel. It is not easy to recruit well-prepared scholarly researchers. The training of cadres requires many years of work. Luckily a long-time problem is being solved: political science is finally becoming an independent branch of knowledge. Our researchers dealing with international relations are gaining proper perspectives; they have the opportunity to obtain scientific degrees also in their own discipline."

The publications of the institute stand in long rows on the shelves of the deputy director's office. This year's publication plan calls for the appearance of several dozen smaller and larger works. The members of the institute express with regret that these publications often reach only limited numbers; at times not even the experts in the field. And this in spite of the fact the building on Gellert Hill, and as one of the important theoretical research centers of Hungarian foreign affairs, it is becoming more and more recognized both at home and abroad.

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## HUNGARY

### GENERAL MOROCZ DESCRIBES DUTIES AS NATIONAL ASSEMBLY REPRESENTATIVE

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian 27 May 78 p 11

[Article by Maria Szabo: "Military Representative"]

[Text] Major General Morocz has lived in Szekesfehervar since 1973. As division commander and a new citizen of the city, he immediately participated in solutions to the various problems in the life of the megye, and of the megye seat. From the very first moment he actively helped in defense education work with the young men living in the area. He was deeply concerned with the troublesome, daily problems of the military families living in the garrison or in the area, and the soldiers who came to him for help. His reputation for willingness to help and his humanity spread quickly in the city, the jaras and the megye.

#### Twenty Four Thousand Five Hundred Votes

The sixth electoral district consists of the Szekesfehervar jaras, or more precisely of the Lake Velence area. Thirty five thousand people live in 17 villages, including 10 independent council communities. Basically, this part of the country is agricultural, or a recreational area. A significant part of the population "commutes" to Budapest, or works in the megye seat.

In the spring 1975 National Assembly elections, the 24,500 citizens with voting rights and the professional and drafted soldiers voted unanimously. They decided that in the person of Lajos Morocz they would be represented in the National Assembly by an indefatigable, active man meriting their confidence.

"We, the leaders of the communities in the electoral district, were reassured when we knew that we could elect another military representative to the seat of the retiring representative Major Jozsef Kalazi," said Janos Pok, council chairman of Pazmand, in recalling the events of 3 years ago. "Comrade Kalazi helped very much in the conduct of our affairs, and he was very popular in the entire district. On basis of the favorable opinions and good experiences, we turned with confidence to our new representative designate. At the nominating meetings, Comrade Morocz did not use any electioneering tricks, he simply told of his plans and ideas in a way that everyone could understand. For our part we assured him of our readiness to be helpful, and of our trust. In the



Major General Lajos Morocz

past 3 years, our area has developed a great deal and become significantly enriched. A large role in this was played by our National Assembly representative.

#### Between Two Sessions

How did the council chairman of Pazmand put it?... "he simply told of his plans in a way that everyone could understand..." Where does this directness come from?

"It is no secret that my father was an agricultural laborer; and after finishing the four classes of the higher elementary school, I too followed a village, peasant way of life. I was born and reared among village people. I understand their language, I know their way of thinking, their problems, and that is why we can understand each other."

Major General Morocz has many duties, but he uses his time well. In the past 3 years he was never once absent from a session of Parliament, and in 1976 he also spoke in the debate on the new defense law. As a military representative he is at the same time the secretary of the National Assembly's defense committee.

"My colleague on the committee is Gyula Uszta, retired lieutenant general, who knows military science very well. In addition, there are four women on the committee," said the major. It is our committee that proposes to the National Assembly the budget of the Ministry of Interior and of the Ministry of Defense, and we supervise its use."

### The Legendary Notebook

Three years ago when Lajos Morocz became National Assembly representative, he made for himself a thick notebook bound in red leather. Instead of abc's, the index shows the communities of the electoral district in his own handwriting. When in 1975 he first travelled through the villages entrusted to his care, by way of introductory visit, he wrote in the "names and addresses" of the leaders of the communities, including their problems and those for which they asked his help. Every year he visits his voters several times, and he reports to the community leaders on the parliamentary sessions, the work accomplished, and he requests information on what the local council, the party organization, the people's front and the various mass organizations have accomplished.

### Problems, People

He has "ticked off" most of the old troublesome problems, that is to say, he has settled them. Already in 1975, his little red diary was a great success among the parliamentary representatives. With the help of this notebook, he could give an answer within moments to any kind of question. He regards regular, direct contacts with the voters as most important in his work of representation.

What is in this unusual diary? And in his large volume of correspondence? He visited the communities most recently in spring. From his letter addressed to the chairman of the megye council, we know that Patka will at last receive a full-time policeman, and they will also build him a home. At the same time, a district nurse has been "engaged" to the village. At the request of the local people, the representative requested the megye council chairman that both service workers so important in the life of the village should be built a duplex house instead of single homes. The village undertook social work in the building of the two homes so that the additional costs would not burden the jaras and megye excessively. In the same letter, the representative informed the megye council chairman that the breeding and fattening of hybrid bulls will not pay because of the quality of the fattened weight and slaughter meat. In Lovasbereny, the residents were concerned with whether the Memorial Protection Supervision would put the Cziraki castle and park in order, and if they did would it be then denied to the people living there as it once was by the counts. The latter is inconceivable today, but still inquiries had to be made by the representative to see that the supervisory office informed the leaders of Lovasbereny of its plans, according to which the gates of the park would be open to everyone following restoration.

Lajos Morocz opened at random a number of letters of thanks for his mail. Laszlo Varjas, council chairman of Baracska, thanked the representative for the

road building. Lajos Nagy, the council chairman of Patka, thanked him for the MHSZ [Hungarian Sport Federation for National Defense] rifle range.

#### Instead of Office Hours

Lajos Morocz does not keep regular office hours. If he visits in the communities, he advertises the time of his visit, and anyone can see him in the council house. Otherwise, his door is always open to voters in his permanent office at the army post. Last year, 21 persons visited him at his place of work, and this years so far 14. This included some who do not even live in his district.

In recent years, sidewalks have been built in all of the 17 communities, at least on one side of the street, and in some places on both sides. Pazmand was enriched with a new culture home through social unity and the help of the representative. A kindergarten was built in Sukoro, and the people of Lovasbereny were able to build a community distillery. The electoral district has been enriched by many sport arenas and MHSZ rifle ranges. In Baracska, 25 soldiers in social work built a three-room house for a gypsy family with seven children whose father was crippled...And who could go on listing what the Lake Velence environs have been enriched with in the past 3 years?

Lajos Morocz, major general, is a busy man, but he regularly visits the voters, listens to them, and if what they say is right and possible, he helps remedy their troubles. For him, this work — relations with the people — is recreation. And in return for the confidence they show him, the word of thanks, he replies with the well-known, traditional military expression: "I am serving the working people."

6691

CSO : 2500

POLAND

POLITBURO REVIEWS ENERGY SUPPLY PROBLEMS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Jun 78 p 4 AU

[Commentary by PAP correspondent Slawomir Popowski: "Following the Politburo Session--Difficult Energy Tasks"]

[Text] Once again this year the Politburo surveyed the problems of energy supply. This particular interest in energy is dictated by the fact that energy development has now become one of the decisive factors determining further economic progress and the possibilities for efficiently implementing the increasing socioeconomic tasks.

We must always remember this fact long before we are faced with the so-called winter peak energy requirements, when (as was the case last year) our energy industry faces the greatest difficulties.

This year will not be easier in this regard. According to specialists, our power stations will have to supply us with over 116 billion more kilowatt-hours than is stipulated by the annual plan. At the same time it is expected that next fall and winter the peak energy requirement of the developing industry, the communal economy and other branches of the economy will be about 1,500 megawatts greater than in 1977. It is true that this increase in our needs is somewhat less intensive than last year, but it is still very high and difficult to cope with. In this situation, as the Politburo stressed at its 27 June session, the punctual implementation of the tight investment tasks in energy is of particular importance. The plan envisages that by the end of the year new power generating units developing 2,470 megawatts, which is more than ever in the past years, will be put into operation.

Two units of 200 megawatts each in Rybnik, two units developing the same amount of power in the Jaworzno-III power station and two turbine units developing 250 megawatts in the Porabka-Zar pumped-storage power station will be put into operation this year. In addition, a unit developing 500 megawatts in the Kozienice power station should be put



into operation in the fourth quarter of this year. The investment plan also provides for the completion of a number of new thermal units and boilers in thermal power stations.

However, the construction of these projects is proceeding under great difficulties. Despite construction priorities, the progress of investments in power stations is below the national average and can mean that the plan will not be implemented. This applies especially to the Kozienice and Rybnik power stations, where many construction projects are behind schedule because of failures in the supply of materials (including aggregate, steel, cables, accessories, paints and insulating materials), because of the inadequate construction potential and because of the unpunctual deliveries of machinery and equipment (mainly coal pulverizers). Eliminating these delays is of utmost importance and will require total mobilization from the construction work forces and tighter discipline from the investment contractors to honor their obligations. The issue is all the more crucial because over 50 percent of the new power units will be tested at the end of the year, that is, in the period of peak energy requirements.

No less importance is being attached to the overhaul and repair campaign, which this year has affected 85 percent of the production equipment of power stations (developing together almost 16,000 megawatts). In this case, too, the condition for punctually and fully implementing the repair tasks is tighter discipline over the deliveries of spare parts for equipment such as coal pulverizers, carbonization equipment, pumps, ventilators and high-power electric motors as well as for other equipment. This will determine the effectiveness and quality of the repairs and overhauls as well as the success of the long-term modernization programs implemented in the power industry. In turn this will determine the performance of power stations under the most difficult winter conditions. It is worth stressing that if we reduce the incidence of power unit failure by only 1 percent (as provided for by this year's plan), we will be able to increase the reserve power of our stations by about 200 megawatts during the peak period.

Investment and repair efforts must go hand in hand with a more rational and conservative use of energy and fuels by all consumers, since the accumulation of the necessary stocks of bituminous coal, lignite and heating oil before the peak winter period is equally important. Even now miners and railroadmen are beginning to provide increased supplies of fuels to power stations in order to accumulate about 4 million tons of fine coal by the end of September. This is just one example. However, the size of these stocks will depend on the energy economies during the entire year, the more so since the heating period was extended until mid-May, which cost us about 1.5 million tons of coal in excess of the plan.

Considering that we may face a shortage of electric energy in the coming winter peak period, it is necessary that all industrial plants and the entire economy take the conservation measures that will insure that our energy potential, which is quite considerable, is used in the most effective manner.

For example, great savings can be effected by carrying out in the winter overhauls and repairs of some installations that consume the most energy. Much could also be achieved by shifting industrial plants' production tasks from the second to the third shift and by inducing communal and private users of energy to conserve more. Other measures include restricted energy supplies to certain socialized users, without upsetting the normal pulse of work and production.

All these measures--Punctual investments, effective repairs and conserving energy consumption--should insure us against the need to cut power supplies because of overloading. No one should be deprived of electrical energy supplies, but we must bear in mind that these supplies are determined to an equal extent by the producers of electric power and by investment contractors, by suppliers of energy installations and by all energy users.

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

MANESCU ADDRESSES CEMA SESSION IN BUCHAREST

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Jun 78 p 5 AU

[Report on speech by Romanian Prime Minister Manea Manescu at the 29 June concluding session of the 32d CEMA meeting in Bucharest]

[Text] This CEMA meeting, the speaker said in the first part of his address, is taking place at a time when our peoples, led by their communist and workers parties, are achieving new and important successes in fulfilling the basic targets of their national plans for socioeconomic development and in implementing the programs for building socialism and communism.

As is known, meetings among the leaders of the communist and workers parties play a decisive role in the establishment of the planned development of our bilateral and multilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation. In this context I would like to emphasize the decisive contribution made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's meetings and talks with party and state leaders from these countries to expanding Romania's relations with the CEMA states and with all the socialist countries; the results of these talks have expanded the scope of our economic relations and contributed to enhancing the prestige and influence of socialism in the world.

At the national party conference the RCP secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, said: "In accordance with the basic lines of our party's and state's policy, we have developed our economic cooperation with the CEMA states--at both the bilateral and the multilateral level--and increased Romania's active participation in achieving the targets established within the comprehensive program."

The speaker then stressed that the Romanian people, led with revolutionary firmness by their Communist Party, are successfully implementing the 11th congress decisions on building the comprehensively developed socialist

society. The results obtained confirm the realism of the RCP program and demonstrate the correctness of its domestic and foreign policies, based on the revolutionary teachings of the workers class and on the creative application of the generally valid truths of dialectical and historical materialism and of scientific socialism to the concrete realities prevailing in Romania; they attest to the resolution with which all the peoples, closely united around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are implementing the measures designed to raise our socialist nation onto higher levels of civilization and progress.

Focusing all the people's creative energies on fulfilling the tasks established by the 11th party congress, the 1977 national conference and the Central Committee plenum of last March, we are concentrating on the problems of quality and of socialist Romania's economic growth. We are paying special attention to improving the leadership, organization and planning of all socioeconomic activities and of the economic-financial mechanism, in keeping with the tasks and targets of each stage of development. The measures applied along this line in our country are based on the principle of combined unitary guidance of socioeconomic development, based on a single national plan, with workers' self-management and self-administration in enterprises--a scientific revolutionary concept designed to improve the leadership and organization of socioeconomic activities. We have an appropriate organizational framework for deepening socialist democracy.

The new and superior quality imprinted on our society's progress and the strong dynamism assured for the Romanian economy in the coming Five-Year Plan will enable Romania to overcome its situation as a developing country by the middle of the next decade and thus become a country with an average level of economic development. By building socialism and communism, the RCP is fulfilling its basic obligation to its own people and at the same time is contributing to the enhancement of the strength and prestige of socialism in the world and to the general cause of international peace and cooperation.

The dynamic progress of the Romanian economy is creating conditions for continuously expanding our participation in the international division of labor, in the world circulation of material assets and of scientific and technological achievements. Thus, Romania focuses primarily on intensifying its relations with the socialist countries, acting steadfastly to strengthen their cooperation and solidarity: at the same time we are expanding our relations with the developing and nonaligned countries, with the capitalist countries and with all states, regardless of social system, in the interests of understanding, cooperation and peace in the world.

In our opinion, the speaker continued, the cooperation among CEMA states, unswervingly based on the unanimously accepted principles of full equality

of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the internal affairs of states, and mutual advantage and comradely assistance, is designed to effectively contribute to developing the national economy of each country and to narrowing the gaps between and equalizing their economic levels.

The Romanian side highly regards the activities carried on within CEMA and within other international economic and scientific-technical organizations of the member states. We believe that eliminating shortcomings and firmly channeling the efforts of CEMA bodies toward efficiently solving essential problems concerning our countries' more rapid development would considerably expand multilateral cooperation among our countries.

Speaking of the special long-term cooperation programs--comprehensive documents regulating economic and scientific-technical cooperation among the member states, which currently envisage identification of the major subjects of this cooperation--the speaker stressed the need to work out without delay proposals for the materialization of each venture, which should then be submitted to the member states to be finalized through firm, long-term conventions and contracts. In the opinion of the Romanian side, all of the Council's efforts in the coming period should concentrate on the key issues of our economic cooperation, especially in the areas of energy and raw materials, machine building and agriculture, so as to establish secure means for coordinating well ahead of time the national economic plans for the 1981-85 Five-Year Plan; this will substantially contribute to our countries' socioeconomic development.

Dwelling on the key issues which, in the opinion of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, are to be regarded as priority targets for implementation of the special programs, the speaker said, among other things, that in the area of fuel, energy and raw materials we must resolutely act to conclude agreements on new cooperation ventures--governmental agreements, long-term conventions and contracts--to utilize raw materials, fuel and energy resources available in the CEMA states with a view to increasing deliveries and meeting to the greatest possible extent the import requirements of the states with limited natural resources, this in view of the fact that the special programs do not envisage multilateral cooperation ventures in areas of vital importance for our national economies, such as securing the necessary quantities of crude oil and natural gas.

In the area of machine building, priority measures should be taken to urgently prepare and conclude specialization and cooperation conventions for the 1981-85 period which should insure a stable production development and meet the national economies' requirements for chemical and crude oil processing equipment, metallurgical equipment, heavy and special machine

tools, sophisticated technological plants, automated installations, and electronic measuring and control apparatus; to finalize the terms for joint construction of production capacities on the territory of the various CEMA states, including Romania, in the areas of computer-programed machine tools, heavy machine tools, metallurgical equipment, and pressing and forging installations; to finalize ventures designed to intensify scientific-technical cooperation by agreeing on cooperation targets increasingly more in keeping with the need to rapidly increase and modernize the production forces, and to facilitate transfer of technologies and access by all the countries to scientific-technical achievements, targets which should contribute to the development of new technologies and to the manufacture of new products and thus to eliminating the gaps that still separate our countries in this respect.

In the areas of agriculture and food industry, the cooperation ventures designed to increase vegetable and animal production and to improve the existing technologies are especially important. An important problem, which must be solved, is that of establishing forms and methods of increasing the production and export of agricultural products and food-stuffs in the CEMA states, in view of the fact that continuously increasing production in this sector requires the allocation of very large material and financial resources.

The speaker then said: One of the major purposes of formulating and implementing the special long-term cooperation programs is to increase the contribution made by cooperation among the CEMA states in narrowing gaps and equalizing their levels of economic development. To attain this target it has been envisaged that cooperation ventures should insure greater participation by the industrially less developed countries in production specialization and sharing; provide the necessary support for building highly technical projects on the territory of those countries; facilitate those countries' access to modern scientific and technological methods; and create conditions for increasing exports of finished products from those countries, thus contributing to better utilization of their potentials and material and labor resources. More resolute steps should be taken to establish concrete cooperation measures which should hasten this process--as one of the basic aims of CEMA activities--whose implementation is designed to demonstrate the very efficiency and superiority of the socialist system of organization of international economic relations.

Among our general economic relations, cooperation in the area of planning, and especially the coordination of plans, are--as is emphasized in the comprehensive program and in other basic documents of the Council--the chief methods of organizing economic and scientific-technical cooperation among our countries; this is accomplished through a system of mutual consultations on the development of the respective economies and constitutes an appropriate framework for the conclusion of agreements in key

areas of economic cooperation and of commercial agreements and cooperation conventions for 5-year periods. Seen in this light, cooperation in the area of planning is based on the basic lines of socioeconomic development established by the communist party of each country and on the provisions of our national plans. This principle also guides the establishment of the agreed plan, which was envisaged by our countries as an internal CEMA document designed to be of aid in coordinating economic cooperation, without having the character of a document for planning the economies of the member states.

We proceed from the fact that each country's socioeconomic development, based on its single national plan, is an exclusive and inalienable attribute of the sovereignty and independence of the socialist state; it is an expression of the full exercise by the respective communist party and state of all their prerogatives and of the political, economic and social leadership responsibilities vested in them by the will of the workers class and of all the people in their respective country. In accordance with the provisions of the CEMA Statute and Comprehensive Program, Cooperation among the member states should lead to increasing the role of the single national plan and to strengthening the role of each socialist state as representative of the power of the workers class and of all the working people in building socialism and communism.

The Romanian side proceeds from the conviction that coordination of the national plans is the chief area offering numerous possibilities for substantially improving our cooperation in planning activities; it permits the member states to utilize the advantages of long-term national economic planning and creates the most favorable conditions possible for developing economic relations among our countries on stable and long-term bases. For this purpose, the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania has called to the attention of the governments of the other CEMA states its proposals on improved planning and on conducting commercial relations and economic cooperation and collaboration. The value of these proposals is that they permit incorporation of the results of coordination efforts in the substantiation of each country's five-year plans. The adoption and implementation of these proposals would provide the necessary framework for cooperation in the construction of industrial, agricultural and other projects which normally require a longer period of time. Such a form of cooperation would insure secure and stable long-term supplies of various products of primary importance for the progress of our national economies.

Concerning the problem of improving multilateral cooperation, the Romanian side wants to stress the current importance and full validity of the conclusion formulated at the 30th session of the Council and reasserted in the material under our examination according to which the general existing

organizational system of our countries' multilateral cooperation--established in accordance with the CEMA Statute and sanctioned in the Comprehensive Program--provides the necessary conditions for developing mutually advantageous economic relations among all the participating states. We are firmly in favor of maintaining and consolidating this system, and we continue to be concerned with enhancing the efficiency and improving the activities of the Council and of the other international economic organizations established by the member states, which can best be achieved within the framework of the provisions of the CEMA Statute, of the Comprehensive Program, and of the regulating documents of our organizations.

The past years' practice has shown that various possibilities offered by the CEMA Statute and the Comprehensive Program for improving the organization of our multilateral cooperation are still insufficiently utilized, and we therefore believe that it is up to our political will to efficiently utilize the provisions of the documents that we have unanimously adopted. The experience of close to 30 years of mutual cooperation has confirmed the correctness and viability of the CEMA Statute provision according to which, in basic problems of cooperation, the Council bodies adopt recommendations, which are then forwarded to the member states for examination and which are implemented on the basis of the decisions of the government or other competent bodies of each country. We are firmly convinced that this essential form of cooperation, sanctioned by the CEMA Statute and the Comprehensive Program and verified by long years of practice, insures optimal conditions for our multilateral cooperation. The fact that the recommendations and convictions worked out by the CEMA bodies are ratified and confirmed by the party-state leaderships, by the governments or competent bodies of the member states, permits each country to decide on its participation in the respective projects or ventures in accordance with its own system of organization and leadership of the national economy and with its national socioeconomic development programs. Therefore, we believe that there is no need to modify the CEMA Statute or the other basic regulation documents, and that in striving to improve the organization of multilateral cooperation and the activities of the CEMA bodies we must permanently keep in mind the paramount fact that our forms and methods of cooperation must acquire the character of new, model relations of equal cooperation, capable of promoting the progress of all the member states and the more rapid development of the backward countries and of raising the level of civilization and well-being of each socialist nation.

Emphasizing that the Romanian Government pays attention to further consolidating the open character of the organization, especially regarding relations among the CEMA member states and the cooperation between CEMA and nonmember states and other international organizations, the speaker said: The Romanian side believes that improvements in CEMA's foreign



relations must be based on respect for each member state's sovereign right to directly conduct foreign economic relations and to act independently within other international organizations. Consequently, the conventions concluded between CEMA and other countries or international organizations should govern only the relations of cooperation of the Council as an organization--in keeping with its statutory powers--that is to say, only the organizational framework for participation of nonmember states in the multilateral cooperation carried out within CEMA.

Referring to international issues, the speaker stressed: The socioeconomic development of the socialist countries and the broad development of cooperation among them in various areas depend on the existence in the world of a climate of understanding among all nations. Socialist Romania promotes an active policy of international cooperation in the interests of establishing a new type of relations in the world based on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, and renunciation of the use of force and the threat of force, principles which are currently winning a growing number of supporters in the world.

Fully in accordance with the realities of the modern world and with the great revolutionary social and economic changes, the Romanian party and government are consistently focusing their foreign policy on continuously developing relations of friendship and all-round cooperation with all the socialist countries and struggling to strengthen their cooperation and solidarity as an essential element for asserting the prestige of socialism in the world.

At the same time, Romania is developing relations of cooperation and collaboration with the developing and nonaligned countries, with all the newly independent states, and is fully supporting the peoples who are struggling for the right to be masters of their national resources and to utilize them to build a prosperous future of well-being and civilization.

In accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence, Romania is expanding its economic cooperation with the developed capitalist countries and with all the states in the world, regardless of their social system.

Proceeding from these considerations, Romania believes that it is only natural that all countries should actively and constructively militate to establish a new world economic and political order which on the basis of principles of profound equity and justice should eliminate economic gaps and insure socioeconomic progress and peace and cooperation among all nations, as well as a better and more just world.

In conclusion, the speaker expressed his conviction that constructive solutions, adopted in a spirit of comradely cooperation and understanding, for the problems debated by the session will create conditions for expanding and improving economic relations and fruitful cooperation among the countries participating in the session, thus contributing to the cause of socialism, progress and peace in the world.

CSO: 2700

## ROMANIA

### KOGALNICEANU'S DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR MOLDAVIA REPUBLISHED

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian May 1978 pp 6-9

[Article by Ion Bulei: "Answers to the Great Questions of 1848"]

[Text] The draft constitution for Moldavia presented in this issue was written by Mihail Kogalniceanu during the same period in which the Aspirations of the National Party in Moldavia was written.\* Although not a part of the actual revolutionary action programs of 1848, it is clear proof of the revolutionary capability that existed to respond to the great problems faced by the nation in advancing on the road to progress. Many of the provisions in the draft constitution are similar to those in the Izlaz Proclamation,\* since in Kogalniceanu's conception of the draft constitution, just as in the conception of other revolutionaries, one of the most important objectives of the struggle of the Romanian people was the establishment of a national state through unification of Moldavia with Wallachia.

In attempting to outline the future form of the Romanian state, the great thinker was not satisfied with writing a draft of basic laws. Instead, he introduced into the document programmatic provisions designed to bring about realization of the Aspirations of the National Party.

Starting with the experience of our historic past and showing a proper understanding of the realities of Romanian society, in the ten chapters of the constitution Kogalniceanu tried to provide the most suitable answers to the complex social-economic and political problems with which his generation was confronted.

The first chapter, entitled "On Sovereignty," granted freedom and independence to the principality internally, with the exercise of sovereignty being vested in the "nation," which the author, however, limits to the National Assembly and the Prince. In continuing, the Draft Constitution established

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\*MAGAZIN ISTORIC, Nos 3-4, 1978.

the method for electing the members of the National Assembly and the organization, operation and responsibilities of the National Assembly. As seen by Kogalniceanu, the power of the National Assembly was more extensive in comparison with the provisions of the future Constitution of 1866. The power of the Prince, however, was more limited. The Prince had to be elected by the National Assembly for a term of five years. The right to oppose a law passed by the Assembly was limited; the Prince could only request a new deliberation, after which, however, the law went into effect even if he continued to oppose it.

The development of a new electoral law on the basis of which all citizens of the age of 21 years received the right to vote, the inviolability of the members of the National Assembly, the prohibition against election of ministers and other high officials (chief of the Capitol Police Force, commandant of the national guard, chairmen of the courts of cassation and the tribunals, the procurator general, etc.) to the National Assembly, the establishment of control over the finances of the state, and the separation of powers in the state are all provisions which make the Draft Constitution a representative document of progressive Romanian thought in the mid 19th century.

The stipulations in the Draft in respect to the National Assembly and the Prince and similar but more radical ones in the Izlaz Proclamation eliminated the Organic Regulation for all practical purposes. The autonomy of the principalities had been seriously curtailed by the provisions of the Organic Regulation. In order to eliminate any interference in the internal affairs of the principality, in the last chapter it was specified that the right to change the constitution lay exclusively with the nation, a right provided in old treaties with the Sublime Porte.

In the economic field, a number of measures were laid down for development of agriculture, industry, transportation and commerce. The disestablishment of feudal obligations, the granting of land to the peasants, the improvement of administration, the transfer of the properties of the religious monasteries to the state, the introduction of progressive taxes, the disestablishment of monopolies over industrial and commercial activities, the creation of professional education, the development of the port of Galati and the establishment of a national bank all represented powerful attacks against the feudal lords, thus creating a favorable framework for capitalist development of the principality.

Also noteworthy are those provisions which referred to the rights and obligations of the citizens. The Draft thus proclaimed the equality of all members of society before the law, the disestablishment of titles and ranks of nobility, the election of the prince any official of the state apparatus from the ranks of all social classes, the institution of a law concerning the gradual emancipation of Jews who had settled in the principality, free education for children of both sexes, the inviolability of the home, the organization and diversification of the judicial apparatus, and the disestablishment of censorship are all provisions of a pronounced progressive, democratic spirit.

Finally, I should point out the patriotic spirit with which this document is imbued from the first to the last word. In an era of strong national affirmation, Kogalniceanu placed special emphasis on respect for the territorial integrity of the nation and on defense of this integrity through creation of a permanent army and the national guard.

Seen overall, the Draft Constitution, whose author in little more than a decade was among those who established the basis of the modern Romanian state by the institution of reforms during the time of Cuza, deserves our attention because of its realism and its applicative character.

We are reproducing the text of this document according to the work ANUL 1848 IN PRINCIPATELE ROMANE [1848 in the Romanian Principalities], Vol III, pp 131-142. In republishing it, the stylistic and language peculiarities have been preserved, but present orthographic standards have been adopted and several simple modernizations have been made in transcribing some groups of letters (sce=ște; ŝci= ști; di=zi; s=z). Our explanations in text were noted with brackets.

Ion Bulei

#### Draft Constituion for Moldavia

#### Chapter I -- On Sovereignty

Art 1. Moldavaia is a constitutional state.

Art 2. Its internal government is free and independent.

Art 3. The exercise of sovereignty by the nation is entrusted by election to the National Assembly and the Prince.

Art 4. None of the public powers of the state is inheritable.

#### Chapter II -- On the Legislative Power

Art 5. The legislative power is vested in the National Assembly.

Art 6. All Romanians of the age of 21 and having the use of civil rights are electors of representatives to the National Assembly; for the present, this right is exercised only: 1) by all property owners who own 100 falci [one falca equals 14,322 squara meters] of land or a building and other mobile property valued at one thousand ducats, and as electors of all administrators of church properties, the bishops, the father superiors of monasteries and the archpriests of the districts; 2) by all officials of the state, except for simple clerks in the administrative and judicial branches, and by all military personnel of officer rank, both those on active duty and those who have retired after six years of service; 3) by all heads of corporations and all merchants licensed by the state as class 1; 4) by capable

personnel, as well as professors and members of learned bodies recognized by the state. doctors, surgeons, pharmacists, lawyers, literary figures and artists and, finally, 5) by all village communes of the nation which will send two representatives from each village commune to act as voters, that is, the village magistrate and the chief watchman. All these special categories will be decided by special electoral law and to the extent possible the right to vote will be extended to all Moldavians.

Art 7. Representatives will be elected from the districts or counties existing today. The number of representatives in each district will be determined based on a direct analogy to the number of voters.

Art 8. All voters who have reached the age of 25 and who are exercising all their civil rights may be elected as representatives throughout the nation, without regard to place of residence.

Art 9. The following are not permitted to be voters or representatives:  
1) Those authors of fraudulent bankruptcies who have not had their rights restored, 2) those people sentenced to defamatory or correctional punishment for acts called crimes by the law, or for offences of robbery, fraud and violent acts against customs.

Art 10. The number of representatives for Moldavia is eighty.

Art 11. The Metropolitan is the president of the National Assembly by law, and the diocesan bishops are also members of the National Assembly.

Art 12. The National Assembly will make its decisions by absolute majority vote; for this purpose, they will use a secret ballot system.

Art 13. The National Assembly will validate only the titles of its members and will decide concerning the validity of the elections.

Art 14. The National Assembly is elected for three years and is completely renewed.

Art 15. The executive power is required to convene the National Assembly each year and the session of the National Assembly must be at least four months long; under unusual and extraordinary circumstances, the session may last over a year.

Art 16. The members of the Assembly are the representatives of the nation, but not of the district from which they were elected; consequently, they cannot receive authoritative instructions from the districts.

Art 17. The representatives of Moldavia are inviolable; they cannot be accused, arrested or sentenced at any time for opinions which they express in the National Assembly.

Art 18. They also cannot be accused and arrested in criminal affairs except in the case of flagrant crimes without the consent of the National Assembly.

Art 19. During the period of his mandate, no representative may receive from the government any new position, honor or reward.

Art 20. Members of the National Assembly who have public services to perform will be replaced by alternate representatives during the session and during this period will not receive salaries of their positions.

Art 21. Each representative will receive a remuneration from the state for the time that the National Assembly is in session. This remuneration will be decided by the head of the National Assembly.

Art 22. The following cannot be representatives:

1. Ministers and directors of departments.
2. Presidents of the Court of Cassation, the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeals, and the Court of Administration and Control.
3. The procurator general.
4. The chief of the Capitol police force.
5. The president of the municipality of the capitol.
6. The commandant of the national guard.
7. The administrators and presidents of the courts of first instance in their districts.

Art 23. The sessions of the National Assembly are public. In spite of this, at the request of one-fourth of the current members the session can also be held in secret committee.

Art 24. Internal policy is vested in the president of the National Assembly and the secretaries, while regulation of the sessions is left to the decision of the National Assembly.

Art 25. The National Assembly has the right to elect the Prince.

Art 26. It also elects the Metropolitan and the diocesan bishops of the nation.

Art 27. All draft laws and regulations beyond simple orders based on established laws must first be submitted for approval by the National Assembly.

Art 28. All legislative power, the right to vote public taxes, to establish budgets and to analyze the expenditures of the state, to consent to public loans and credits, to supervise the preservation of the property of the nation, to stimulate the growth of agriculture and industry, to favor freedom of work and commerce inside and outside the country by establishment of a national bank and a discount bank, to decide the tariffs on goods, to decree the rapid construction of means of communication, to regulate the standards for weights and measures, to stimulate the general education of the people, to establish donations for the use of the poor, to establish penitentiaries, to reform the civil, commercial and penal codes, as well as the procedural codes, to vote disciplinary regulations and regulation covering the promotions for troops regulated and for the national guard, and finally to take all customary and extraordinary steps for the safety of the nation are within the competence of the National Assembly.

Art 29. The right to initiate and to receive petitions at any time from anyone is granted to the National Assembly.

Art 30. National awards are given only by the National Assembly.

Art 31. The agent at Constantinople is elected from among Romanians by the National Assembly.

## Chapter II -- On the Executive Power

Art 32. The executive power is vested in the Prince by the nation.

Art 33. In order to elected Prince, one must be born a Romanian, be at least 30 years of age, and have the use of civil and political rights. According to ancient custom, the Prince is elected from all classes of the nation.

Art 34. The National Assembly has the right to elect and to proclaim the Prince by an absolute majority of representatives.

Art 35. The election must take place in the first 30 days after the death, abdication or departure of the previous Prince.

Art 36. During this interval, the executive power is exercised by the Council of Ministers, together with the National Assembly, which is required to convene within three days after the vacancy occurs.

Art 37. The Prince is elected for five years.

Art 38. The Prince has the duty of supporting and assuring the execution of the laws.

Art 39. He is entrusted with command of the armed forces; however, he is never allowed to command in person.



Art 40. He cannot alienate any part of the nation; he cannot close the National Assembly or delay the opening of its sessions; he cannot prevent or change the development of the Constitution and the laws.

Art 41. At the opening of each session, he is required to report the state of the nation to the National Assembly through an official report.

Art 42. He has the right to grant pardons, but cannot use this right except after submitting an official report to the Ministry of Justice and receiving the approval of the Council of Ministers.

Art 43. He enforces and publishes the laws passed by the National Assembly.

Art 44. The laws of the National Assembly are enforced by the Prince no more than one month after they have been passed, and emergency laws are enforced within three days.

Art 45. Any time the Prince feels that it is not right to enforce the law passed by the National Assembly within the exact time period for enforcement, he will inform the National Assembly through an official report and will request a new deliberation. Should the decision be reaffirmed, he will then have to enforce it. In the event of refusal on his part, the president of the National Assembly will publish the law within the prescribed time period.

Art 46. The Prince receives emissaries of foreign powers; he also presides at national celebrations.

Art 47. The Prince receives his residence from the nation and a living allowance of 12,000 ducats.

Art 48. The Prince appoints and discharges his ministers as he desires. He also appoints and discharges employees of the administrative, judicial, military and religious branches, with the restrictions provided by law.

Art 49. The acts of the Prince, except for those by which he appoints and discharges his ministers, have no power unless they are approved by the competent minister.

Art 50. During the period of his reign, the Prince is inviolable.

The ministers alone are responsible.

All subordinate employees are responsible on an individual basis for the acts of their administration.

A law will decide cases of responsibility, the imprisonments of officials, and the manner by which they are brought to trial.

#### Chapter IV -- On the Council of Ministers

Art 51. The legislative power will decide the number and responsibilities of the ministers.

Art 52. The ministers are free to enter the National Assembly; they have the right always to be heard at any time they so request.

Art 53. The Minister of Internal Affairs is the president of the Council of Ministers by law.

Art 54. The Council draws up draft laws which the government must submit to the National Assembly and draws up those draft laws of parliamentary initiative which the Assembly should issue for its hearings.

It issues regulations for public administration, in accordance with established laws. For this purpose, it must listen to the consultative commissions established within each ministry.

It exercises control over district and municipal administration and protects those things given it by law.

It proposes to the Prince appointments of officials in accordance with the official reports of the competent department heads.

A special law will regulate the other responsibilities of the Council.

Art 55. In no way can the Council itself exercise judicial responsibilities and consequently it cannot pass sentences or punishments under the pretext of security measures, etc. The signers of such verdicts will immediately be handed over by the National Assembly to the criminal court system.

#### Chapter V -- On the Internal Administration

Art 56. The nation is divided into provinces or counties, districts and communes.

Art 57. Each province has an administration consisting of an administrator and a province council.

Each district has a deputy administrator.

Each commune has a magistrate, two watchmen and a communal council.

The area around cities will be a municipality and will have a municipal council.

Art 58. The administrators and deputy administrators are appointed by the Prince, in accordance with Art 48 and 54.

Art 59. The magistrates and watchmen are named by all homeowners of the commune.

Art 60. The presidents and assessors of the municipalities around cities are named by all homeowners of those cities.

Art 61. The province councils are named by all voters for representatives to the National Assembly who have resided in the province for at least six months.

The communal councils are named by all homeowners of the commune.

The municipal councils are named by all homeowners of that city.

Art 62. A special law will decide the responsibilities of the provincial, municipal and communal councils.

Art 63. After notifying the Council of Ministers, the Prince can disestablish the provincial, municipal and communal councils; however, he is required to call for the election of new ones within the period of one year.

#### Chapter VI -- On the Judicial Power

Art 64. Justice is free throughout the nation. Debates are public, except when dealing with offenses against the public good and morality.

The forms of procedure will be shortened and simplified.

Art 65. Free defense is guaranteed in both civil and criminal cases. For this purpose, a list of lawyers will be set up according to special laws.

Art 66. The Ministry of Public Justice will be established in addition to all the courts of the nation.

The public prosecutors will be appointed by the Prince, in accordance with the method described in Art 54.

Art 67. Juries will be established in all political, criminal and press trials. A special law will decide their organization.

Art 68. Justices of the peace will also be established at markets. They will be elected by their fellow citizens, in accordance with a special law.

Art 69. Justices of first instance civil courts, justices of criminal investigation, and justices of appeal and commerce will be appointed by the Prince, based on a list of candidates which will be established by a special law on judicial organization.

Art 70. The judges of the Supreme Court will be appointed by the National Assembly.

Art 71. A Court of Cassation will be established for review of the forms dealt with by lower court cases. The members of this court will be named also by the National Assembly. This court will also make decisions regarding conflicts in responsibilities between administrative and judicial authorities.

Art 72. The Prince will not be able to interfere in judicial decisions at any time. This will be accomplished by competent executive authorities, in accordance with the decision of the respective courts, without any need for sanction by the Prince.

Art 73. An Administration Court will be established for the entire nation. This court will deal with administrative processes and its responsibilities and composition will be established by a law.

The members of this court will be appointed by the Prince, in accordance with a list prepared by the Council of Ministers.

Art 74. A Court of Control will also be established to study the expenditures of the state. The members of this court will be appointed by the Prince, in accordance with the above-stated model.

Art 75. Recourse against the findings of the Administration Court and the Court of Control will be made to the Court of Cassation.

Art 76. All civil, criminal, commercial and appeals court judges, the judges of the Supreme Court, and the judges of the Court of Cassation are appointed for life. However, they can be removed temporarily or definitively from their positions, after a solemn judgment delivered by jury in accordance with the forms and for the matters provided by judicial law. This law will also decide the age at which retirement of the judges is mandatory.

Art 77. Military forces will have their own special Military Court, the responsibilities of which will be established by special law.

Art 78. A Supreme Court of Justice, without appeal and recourse in cassation, composed of the Supreme Court (the Princely Divan) and jurors drawn by lot by the presidents of the first instance civil courts from the number of members of all provincial councils, will be convened any time there is a need to judge regarding accusations made by the National Assembly either against its own members or against ministers and other officials. This court will also judge people accused of crimes, assassinations and plots against the internal or external safety of the state. It will not be able to convene without a decision by the National Assembly.

Art 79. The declaration by the jury that the accused is guilty must be made on the basis of a two-thirds majority of the votes.

Art 80. Any special courts and commissions are forever prohibited.

## Chapter VII -- On the Armed Forces

Art 81. The armed forces are established to defend the nation and to assure the preservation of law and order.

They are made up of the regular army and the national guard.

Art 82. Each Romanian of the age of 21, with the exceptions provided by law, contributes by lot in the formation of the army. Military service is five years. Substitution is allowed.

Art 83. The national guard is formed from all Romanians capable of bearing arms and not in the active army. Substitution is not allowed.

Art 84. The national guard is divided into an urban and rural (city and country) national guard.

A special law will decide the formation and duties of the national guard.

Art 85. Special laws will decide the method of enrollment, promotion, and discipline of regulated troops.

Art 86. The armed forces are absolutely obedient; no armed body may ever deliberate on affairs of the state.

Art 87. Use of the armed forces to preserve order internally must not take place except at the request of competent civil authorities and in accordance with the regulations established by competent authority.

Art 88. Foreigners, either singly or collectively, cannot form part of the armed forces of the nation.

## Chapter VIII -- On Rights and Duties

Art 89. All Moldavian Romanians have the same equality under civil and political laws, except for cases provided in the Constitution, Art 6, and by special laws.

Art 90. All titles of nobility, privileges of birth and personal privileges will cease in the future. People who hold titles of nobility today may retain them; however, these titles do not give them any rights.

Art 91. Only Romanians can occupy state positions in certain branches.

Art 92. Gratuitous service rendered to the boyars and labor tithing and other services or gifts made to the landowners are disestablished forever.

Art 93. Properties are protected and defended by the Constitution; However, for the benefit of the public all village peasants will each receive two and a half falci of land from the estate owners as improved land, and the estates are reduced on a status quo basis to what is owned today. And for this expropriation made for the benefit of the public, in accordance with Art... in the civil code of Moldavia the old landowners will be given a suitable indemnification which will be decided by a special law.

Art 94. Slavery is disestablished on Romanian soil. Slave owners who request indemnification will receive it from the state.

Art 94. (?) \* Capital punishment and corporal punishment are absolutely prohibited.

Art 95. Confiscation of property in accordance with ancient custom can never be established. \*\*

Art 96. Each Romanian freely exercises his religion and receives protection from the state at all times for his beliefs.

Ministers of religions recognized by the state have the right alone to receive wages from the state.

Art 97. The properties of religious monasteries in foreign locales are to be returned to the state; a cash payment to be determined by the National Assembly will be sent annually to each of those foreign locales.

Art 98. All Moldavians of any Christian faith have the same rights therefore to purchase estates. This right is also given to foreign Christians, with the stipulation, however, that they declare themselves subject to the laws of the nation without reservation.

Art 99. A special law will establish measures for gradual emancipation of Romanians from Jewish laws.

Art 100. Freedom of education will be exercised under the guarantee of the laws and the supervision of the state. This supervision will be extended to all educational institutions, without exception, in accordance with a law passed by the National Assembly. With the consent of the Ministry of Public Education, this supervision may again be vested in the provincial, municipal and communal councils.

Art 101. Education is free. It will be equal and complete for all Romanians of both sexes. The capitol will have a university, a polytechnical school, a normal school and a vocational school. The nation's port [Galati] will have a school of commerce and navigation. All provincial cities will have secondary schools and boarding schools for children. All villages will have primary schools. Lessons will be taught in the national language.

\* In accordance with the original -- editor's note

\*\* Under old Romanian law, the lord had the right to order confiscation of particular property.

Art 102. A special law will be passed to raise the moral and social level of the clergy.

The press is independent; censorship may never be established at any time the way it once was in the nation.

Art 103. Individual freedom is guaranteed. No one can be arrested except by due legal process.

Art 104. The home of each Romanian is respected; no one will be able to violate this right except by due legal process.

Art 105. No one can be tried in a court other than his natural one. Every person arrested will be tried within 24 hours before the competent court.

Art 106. All contributions are made for the public welfare.

Therefore, all citizens will cooperate through a general contribution based on their incomes and properties. A special law will establish the method and type of contributions. Any tax on the export of products from the nation will be forever prohibited.

Art 107. No tax may be levied except by law.

Art 108. Direct taxes will be decided by the National Assembly by year only.

Indirect taxes may be decided for multiple years.

Art 109. All taxes and incomes of the state will be collected in accordance with the law by the treasury, without taxes in enterprises.\*

Art 110. The guarantees given to the right to work are: 1) the disestablishment of any monopoly and taxes on industrial enterprises and factories; 2) the establishment of a national bank and a discount bank; 3) the establishment of savings banks and professional schools; 4) the payment of public workers by the state and the disestablishment of forced labor and compulsory service; 5) the establishment of rest homes for disabled workers.

Art 111. Laws dealing with the police force and penitentiaries will be established by the National Assembly in its first session.

Art 112. The National Assembly will pass a strong law to eliminate the corruption left in the nation by the past government.

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\*Put in parentheses in the original -- editor's note.

Art 113. On an urgent basis, the National Assembly will appoint commissions for reform of the civil, commercial and penal codes and the procedures used in these codes.

Art 114. Management of the incomes of the cities and communes and the free use of these funds will be vested in the municipal and communal leaders, with the provision, however, of non-interference by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

#### Chapter IX -- On Revision of the Constitution

Art 115. By virtue of its capitulation and the treaties which guarantee free and independent internal administration, the nation forever has the right to change or modify the Constitution. Therefore, every 15 years, extraordinary representatives will be elected in accordance with a special law and these representatives will have the right to modify the Constitution in accordance with the spirit of the era.

Art 116. Changes in the Constitution, however, will require two thirds of the voting voices.

Art 117. Individual modifications, however, may be made by the National Assembly in its regular sessions.

#### Chapter X -- Provisional Instructions

Art 118. The codes, laws and regulations today in effect, insofar as they do not contravene this Constitution, will continue to be in effect until such time as they are changed by new laws.

Art 119. All authorities today in being will continue in operation until publication of organic laws concerning them.

Art 120. The law on judicial organization will establish the special way for appointments for the first composition of the courts.

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## ROMANIA

### STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL STATE RECALLED

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian May 78 pp 18-22

/Part II of article by Dr Gheorghe Zaharia/

/Text/ Achievement of Romania's complete independence drove the struggle for national liberation of the Romanians under foreign occupation. Despite severe censorship, the Romanian newspapers in Transylvania succeeded in putting in their articles the thoughts on national unity which animated the Transylvanian Romanians during and after the 1877 war. In this regard the year 1892 marked a remarkable point in the development of the struggle for national liberation in Transylvania by launching the memorandist movement.

#### "20. Centuries of Dust"

The workers movement in Romania, continuing the glorious traditions of the struggle of the Romanian people to defend their legitimate right to a free and independent life at a higher level in a unified and sovereign country asserted forcefully a progressive concept springing from a well-founded analysis of the realities of the time, a concept which it promoted and sustained consistently. This fact brought the working class and its political party into the center of the struggle of all the people to achieve these basic wishes.

Taking over and developing the unfulfilled goals of the 48er's the democratic revolutionaries, the first Romanian socialists entitled the publication of 1883 THE FUTURE DACIA, precisely because, together with the ideas of scientific socialism, it propagated the idea of struggle to achieve national unity of the Romanians in a democratic, independent state.\*

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\* Along the line of this tradition, the revolutionary and progressive youth in Romania was to call one of its publications in 1937-1938 THE NEW DACIA.

Feeling that the act of Union of 1859 was incomplete, THE FUTURE DACIA wrote in the 16 February 1883 issue: "This unity is incomplete. We are too young to use Byzantine periphrases or a diplomatic language; we will say openly and clearly our thought: We want Dacia as it was, since history and the vote, tradition and the plebiscite, the past and the present give us the right to aspire to a Romanian Dacia. This land, wet with the blood and sweat of our ancestors, increased with their 20 centuries of dust, is ours. We only want what belongs to the Romanian to belong to him; we want unjust, inhuman and cruel domination of one nation over another in the century in which we are living to cease, we want Romanians all to be free and form a state but not to suffer under foreign and cruel domination.

"Is this union really possible or it is merely the dream of a youth full of illusions? If justice has any power on this earth, Transylvania and the other portions of old Dacia, where Romanians are in the majority, should merge and will merge sooner or later into a Romanian state."

Bringing out the significance of achieving full independence for the Romanian people, the militants of the working class party stressed that "proclamation of Romania's independence undoubtedly was a fact of the greatest importance, since it was a line dividing the centuries of oppression under Turkish rule and the independence we are enjoying today. Through sacrifices and self-denials and at the price of their blood, the Romanian people knew how to become free from the Turks in a glorious war, thus ensuring themselves an independence which would permit them to develop in peace and to travel along the road of civilization." As ROMANIA MUNCITOARE of 1908 felt, "this was an historic need, a result of heroic efforts and demonstration of the dignity of an entire people which, however, must be defended and consolidated." The socialist concept of defending the country's independence was formulated in close connection with achieving a series of measures of a democratic content, a basic condition for the state's durability in case of foreign aggression and for reliance on their own forces. In the socialists' opinion, the measures needed to defend the country's independence should be sought not abroad but rather among the Romanian people, "who knew according to the times how to be able to maintain and defend this earth against all violations and attacks bravely."

The analysis undertaken by the militants of the revolutionary workers movement of the foreign policy of the Romanian state also bore the endorsement of realism; it took into account the country's conditions and domestic possibilities, the specific geographic and strategic situation of Romania, the play of the big powers' alliances and the evolution and dynamics of international relations

It is to the merit of the Romanian socialists that they deciphered the extremely complex mechanism of imperialist foreign policy promoted by the big powers, a policy based on force, on economic expansion and on territorial conquests at the expense of the small states. As Constantin C. Bacalbasa wrote in 1885, "the truth, the sad truth is that the powerful masters of the world are playing with the small peoples like a ball and that the map of Europe is being modeled, transformed and reformed according to how it suits those several arbiters of mankind."

In light of the vital tasks of the Romanian people and the patriotism which animated them, the working class party militated for respect for the people's right to independence and equality, since one cannot "disclaim a nation which is a fact, since one cannot disclaim certain factors which for centuries have asserted their existence." In this direction it was also conclusive that at the Romanian Social Democratic Party Congress of January 1910 it was said: "We want to maintain the independence of each nation, since otherwise it would not even be possible to establish the true lasting ties between peoples, in which each nation would bring its own tribute of culture to the concert of human civilization."

Defense and consolidation of independence were the major directions of theoretical thought and practical action of the political party of the proletariat in Romania, which enjoyed a powerful response in that era. From here came the steadfast attention given to the country's foreign relations, eloquent proof of understanding the major tasks facing the Romanian people along the line of achieving the unified national state and defending the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country under the complex circumstances of international life in the first two decades of the 20th century.

#### Duties of the Allies

Under the conditions of economic development from the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, achievement of the unity of the national Romanian state was even more sharply necessary as an objective need for the more accentuated progress of Romanian society. For that reason, the problem of creating the national unified state went to the forefront of Romanian political life and became the dominant claim of all the Romanian people and all classes and social strata.

The bourgeoisie, rising at that time, sought by this to ensure themselves a single national market, to be able to develop production forces faster and extend capitalist relations and consolidate its positions as the dominant class economically and politically.

World War I which broke out on 1 August 1914, was the result of the sharpening contradictions between the imperialist states. France, England and Russia, forming what was called the Triple Alliance or Entente on one hand and Germany-Austro-Hungary and Italy (until 1915, when it sided with the Entente), forming the Alliance of Central Powers on the other hand and with other means was a continuation of the reactionary policy of the governments and ruling classes of these states, which sought to redive the spheres of domination in the world and seize colonies and foreign territories.

In the fight of the imperialist forces to divide and redive the world, the participation of certain medium-sized and small nations and states in Europe in the war was subordinate exclusively to the goals of national interest: defense in the face of aggression, liberation of territories which were under foreign rule, the establishment or completion of independent and sovereign national states. Referring to this, V. I. Lenin wrote in July 1916:

"One cannot consider that national wars are impossible in the era of imperialism; not even in Europe does this "era" exclude national war; for example, those started by small states (let us say, annexed or nationally oppressed) against the imperialist powers, just as large-scale national movements are not excluded in eastern Europe." (V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 30, 1964, pp 7-8).

Continuing to militate to achieve the masses' centuries-old wishes, the socialists of 1914-1916 from old Regat, fearing that Romania would be crushed by the two giants in conflict, militated for the country's neutrality and achievement of the national unity of the Romanian state through self-determination.

A similar attitude also was adopted by the governing circles, the Council of the Crown, which met in Sinaia on 3 August 1914; it decided to adopt the armed expectation, a provisional solution which permitted an important respite for military and political preparation for the action which was to lead to achievement of a new stage along the path of achieving the national ideal.

Yet the war had brought to the forefront the wish for national unity which animated the broadest possible masses and which was powerfully expressed in the press and well as in innumerable popular meetings and demonstrations. Large meetings organized by the cultural league and Carpati Society took place in Bucharest, Craiova, Turnu-Severin, Ploiesti, Braila, Caracal, Iasi and other cities, within which political and cultural personalities spoke, such as Nicolae Iorga, Nicolae Titulescu, Constantin Mille, Barbu Stefanescu-Deleveragea, Vasile Lucaciu, Octavian Goga and many others. On 18 September 1915 the "Unionist Federation" was created in Bucharest; its goal was to achieve national ideal.

Despite obstacles and persecutions from the Austro-Hungarian authorities, the Romanians in Transylvania, including the socialists, in innumerable ways expressed their will to unite with their brothers across the mountains. On 10 May 1914, pupils from the Blaj Normal School raised the Romanian tricolored flag on the city's cathedral tower. Transylvanian soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian army, wounded in the battles of Lemberg (Lvov) and brought to Brasov, crossed the Carpathians into Romania. Many representatives of Transylvanian Romanians, scholars and priests followed the same road, coming into the country in order to influence the decision of the governing circles. Speaking at a meeting of the Cultural League on 16 February 1915, Vasile Lucaciu, a leader of the Romanian National Party of Transylvania, in transmitting the messages to Ardeal Romanians, said: "All we Romanians from the four corners are one and determined until death to struggle to achieve the grand national ideal." It also was he who pointed out during a meeting in Turnu Severin: "We do not want subjugation; we want liberty; we do not want oppression of countries and other peoples; we want emancipation of the Romanian nation. We do not want violation of other territories which do not belong to us; we only want ensurance of our national rights which for centuries were stolen unjustly." On 15 March 1915 the Congress of Romanians from abroad was held in Bucharest; it clearly expressed their will to unite with the country, together with the conviction that "favorable conditions of development for the Romanian nation will come only from the Romanians."

During the period of neutrality, the warring camps repeatedly demonstrated their wish to draw Romania to their side. In mid-August 1916, the big operations carried out until then by the two coalitions had been consumed without either side reaching the goals proposed. Under these circumstances, the Entente powers demanded in an ultimatum that Romania enter the war with the purpose, unproven, of attracting adversary forces and easing the situation on their own fronts.

The Romanian Government did not hurry to give its agreement without establishing the terms of collaboration with the Entente more exactly. In this regard, the Romanian Government demanded the following: steady assurance by France of supply with arms for the entire duration of the war (around 300 tons sent daily through the Russian ports of Arkhanghelsk and Vladivostok); that the Romanian offensive against Austro-Hungary be sustained by a general alliance; that the Russian Army ensure the rear of the Romanian front from Bucovina and Dobrogea.

Once these conditions were accepted, the alliance treaty between Romania, Russia, France, England and Italy was signed in Bucharest on 17 August 1916, as well as the military convention, by

which the signing sides, among other things, assumed the following obligations: Romania be engaged to mobilize all its forces; at 1500 on 28 August 1916 the latest that Romania enter the war against Austro-Hungary, taking action in the general direction of Budapest. The Russian command was to take action along the entire eastern front and, in particular, the northern portion of Moldavia and in Galitia for the purpose of covering the mobilization and concentration of the Romanian Army. The other allies committed themselves to precede Romania's entry into the war by 8 days with a "firm offense" of their armies on the southern front (Salonika) in order to ease mobilization and concentration of the Romanian Army. Further, Russia had the obligation to send two infantry and one cavalry division into Dobrogea "in order to cooperate with the Romanian Army against the Bulgarian Army." The allies further were obligated to obtain arms for Romania, as well as other war materiel, equipment, medicines and rations in the quantities requested by the Romanian Government.

#### ...And Romanian Sacrifices

On the night of 14-15 August 1916, the Romanian forces moved to the offense all along the Carpathian arc, forcing the Austro-Hungarian troops to withdraw all along the front. In just a few days, the Romanian Army had penetrated deeply into Transylvania, being received enthusiastically by the popular masses, who were eager to be liberated from foreign oppression. They came out to greet the Romanian soldiers in accordance with the traditional custom of hospitality--with bread and salt--just as centuries before the inhabitants of these lands had received the armies of the liberators of Mihai Viteazul. As GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI wrote: "We still are surprised and cannot find the words to express the joy suppressed by centuries of suffering. Welcome!"

In turn, saluting the population of Transylvania and explaining the mission of the Romanian Army, the commander of the Romanian 2d Army, Gen Alexandru Averescu, said: "The Romanian Army, stepping on holy ground on which the voice of our people has been heard for centuries, has not come with thoughts of hostility against the peoples of any law and any nationality who have remained at their hearths; on the contrary, it is animated by the most fraternal feelings for all peaceful people."

In order to cope with the situation, the headquarters of the Central Powers moved the center of gravity of military actions to the Romanian front, seeking to overrun our territory rich in oil and agricultural food resources. Not powerfully alined on any of the main fronts, despite what was stipulated in the military convention, the Central Powers achieved a crushing superiority of forces on the Romanian front. The Romanian Army fought

with boldness and self-sacrifice, taking about 200,000 soldiers and officers of the Central Powers out of battle. However, overwhelmed by the adversary forces, it had to withdraw, step by step defending the country's land. The capital and nearly two-thirds of Romania's territory fell under occupation of the Central Powers, which still was not able to reach its goal of crushing Romanian resistance. Despite all the efforts made, their troops were stopped by the Romanian-Russian forces toward the end of 1916 along the line of the eastern Carpathians and lower streams of the Putna, Siretul and Danube. Recognizing failure, Gen Erich Ludendorff, chief of the Great German Headquarters, was to write in his memoirs: "We repelled the Romanian Army but we could not destroy it. We had to leave in Dobrogea and Muntenia the forces which prior to Romania's entry into the war we had used on the Eastern Front, the Western Front or in Macedonia."

The big Entente powers, however, had achieved the goal sought; easing the situation on their own fronts, the Central Powers headquarters had transferred more than 40 divisions to the Romanian front. But their lack of loyalty to Romania, whose disaster had produced a change in the relation of forces in their favor, was demonstrated not only in lack of fulfillment of the commitments assumed but also in the intention of no longer admitting what they had promised--and even worse--and having an understanding with the adversaries about dividing Romanian territory. A high functionary in the Foreign Ministry of the tsarist empire, evaluating the situation created following the battles lost by Romania in 1916, wrote in his report of 20 November 1916 that "the present events in Romania have changed the conditions of the 1916 treaty from top to bottom; the promise of territorial compensation made by Russia for its entry into the war, provided in the abovementioned agreement, undoubtedly must be subject to revision." Mentioning that the serious situation of Romania "does not conflict in any special way with Russia's political interests," the author of the report emphasized: "This circumstance should be used by us with a view to consolidating the forced ties which join Russia and Romania for as long a time as possible." (Charles Stienon, "Le Mystere Roumain et la Defection Russe," Paris, 1918, Report No 240, signed by Polivanov ).

The maneuvers of Germany and tsarist Russia were understood by V. I. Lenin, who wrote in January 1917: "Even a few months ago an accentuated trend of the dominant imperialist circles in Germany was formed toward an alliance with Russia against England. The basis for the alliance as I see it will be division of Galicia, Armenia and perhaps Romania! An 'allusion' was made in a German newspaper to the fact that Romania could be divided between Austria, Bulgaria and Russia."

Throughout the occupation by the Central Powers, Romania suffered losses valued at approximately 31 billion lei in gold, plus the issuance of war money which the Romanian Government later had to withdraw.

During the winter and spring of 1917, at the price of gigantic sacrifices of the population, the Romanian Government and headquarters proceeded to rebuild the army under incomparably difficult conditions due to the lack of food, clothing, fuel and, in particular, due to the exanthematic typhoid epidemic which ravaged the civilian population and military units. Some 15 infantry divisions, 2 cavalry divisions and several other brigades and independent units were organized.

Concerned with having Romania remain in the war, the governments of France, Great Britain and Russia supplied the technical materiel requested by the Romanian Government. The Romanian industrial units subordinate to war production and put into operation on free territory made a contribution to rebuilding the army. More than 30,000 workers of all specialties, technicians and engineers contributed to this patriotic action of great responsibility.

In mid-June 1917, the reorganized Romanian troops formed as the First Army, returned to the front, occupying a sector along the lower stream of the Siretul, between the Fourth and Sixth Russian Armies. As is known, in July and August of that year, in the area of Marasti, Marasesti and Oituz,\* they successfully sustained some of the largest and most important battles of World War I. The successes obtained by the Romanian troops in the battles of the summer of 1917 found special response within the Entente, being some of the most important victories of this coalition against the Central Powers. This brings out their significance and importance in the general development of World War I. The Romanian people, by rising up in battle, by the sacrifices and efforts they made as well as by the heroism of their soldiers, made an important contribution to defeating the Central Powers.

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\* MAGAZIN ISTORIC No 4, 1967 and No 8, 1977.

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